ABSTRACT

SUBAH OF KASHMIR
UNDER THE MUGHALS
WITH SEPCIAL REFERENCE TO SOCIETY AND ADMINISTRATION

B Y

ABDUL MAJID MATTOO

UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF

DR. M. ZAMEERUDDIN SIDDIQI

CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
A.M.U., ALIGARH.

*

ABSTRACT

The Mughal Ṣubāh of Kashmir dates back to Akbar's annexation of the region consequent upon the brushing aside of the feeble resistence offered by the Chak Sultanate to the aggressive forces of the Mughals in 1586. This political upheaval unnerved the Kashmiri people at it involved the loss of independence and the forcning upon them a new political and social order. But in the long-run the change proved to be a mixed blessing as it ushered in an era of wider political and social relations, peace and tranquility, social and sectarian harmony, promotion of industry and trade, opening up of new trade routes and above all the extension of the enlightened and more purposeful" Mughal administration. Development of gardening with requisite irrigation works, architectural activity and followed in its wake the remarkable growth of arts and letters, education and learning and the catholicity and universal tolerance preached and practised by a number of the sufi orders which found in Kashmir a very fertile soil to function and flourish.

The promotion of Industry and trade through the securi on roads and opening up of better routes connecting far-fluing areas and throwing open the outside world to the merchants and traders and the people of Kashmir afforded

unique opportunities for economic development of the region, bring about a new social attitudes by brisk contacts with the people of other parts of Mughal India and the foreign countries the breaking the age-long isolation of Kashmir.

Yet the Mughal adventure in this direction was not actuated by any philanthropic motives to extent the blessing of peace&the troubled northern state or to associate the people of Kashmir in the grandiose task of building up a welfare state in India in which the Kashmiri genius would also be blended to make a distinct contribution. The aggressive endeavours of Akbar to extend his sway over Kashmir, or preferably to bring about its annexation to Mughal Empire, was prompted both by imperialistic designs and considerations of the d efence of the Empire which was increasingly menaced by the growing Uzbek Empire. The straegic and military importance of Kashmir rendered it both a source of weakness to the Mughal Empire of placed in hostile hands, and a region of strength and tactical superiority if wrested from the local power and absorbed into the Empire.

The opportunity to fish in troubled waters of the politics of Kashmir was provided by weaklings who sat on

the Kashmir throne in the days of the decline of the Chaks.

The Mughals had given unity to the region and with the rest of the Empire, uniformity of administrative set up, extension of agriculture, and horticulture, growth of trade and commerce, maintenance of trade routes, exports of shawls and textiles to different parts of India and foreign coumtries, the laying out of numerous beautiful gardens and monuments and beautification of scenic spots and above all the tremoudous bost to tourist industry by the royalty, nobility and aristocracy.

But the Mughals, being an imperialiastic power, chiefly interested in the exploilation of peasantry and the resources of Kashmir as elsewhere in India, did very litle to bring about the real happiness and welfare of the masses, extension of irrigation and agriculture, the urbanisation and enrichment of the people and the return of dividends to the workers and the tellers of the soil.

Very little work has so far been done on the history of Kashmir not with standing the great importance which the study deserves. Only a few published works exist on the subject; as regards the history of the Mughal Ṣubāh of Kashmir, which are quite sketchy and sweeping. Some work

is being done in Jammu University and Srinagar University on ancient and Modern Kashmir, but the period under review was completely neglected.

Since the systematic work on all the aspects of the Mughal Kashmir would have been too extensive for the scope of the thesis, I was advised to make a study of the history of the ṣūbah of Kashmir with particular emphasis to various facts of administration and society while at the same time giving necessary treatment to other aspects like the history of art and literature, political developments, economic affairs and the like.

This thesis is divided into eleven chapters besides the introduction. In the first chapter I have discussed at length the causes, events and consequences of the Mughal annexation, and the expansion of their rule in various directions in the Ṣubāh in orderto bring the far feeling area like little and great Tibet, Kashtawār, Punch etc. under the Mughal Subordination. In the second and third chapter I have reviewed the land Revenue system, agrarian conditions assignments and grants the fourth chapter deals with the Institution of Subahdār and his functions, as an executive, and administrative head. Administration of justice and police has been studied in chapter five the functioning of

the Institutions of Foujdar, Kotwal, Qazi, Sadr. Mufti, Thanedār, Bayutat, etc. have also been discussed in the chapter.

The instition of foujdār, though of considerable importance could not be given a separate treatment because of the lack of adequate information. The sixth chapter deals with the social life of the people, the condition of the masses, dress, diet, and housing the status of woemn in society has been also given a detailed treatment.

The Religious life and Ṣūfi movement have been examined in the chapter seven. New Ṣūfi orders were introduced but some of the existing and indegenous orders particularly the Reshi order disintegrated during this perio In the eight chapter the economic development which took shape in this periods, has been fully discussed. In ths this chapter light has been thrown on the development of trade, commerce and industries also. Details of various trade routes connecting Kashmir will the rest of the Empir of Central Asia has been also discussed in this chapter.

The Mughal annexation opened the avenues to variou Sufis, Saints and Scholars. This influx resulted in th

development of learnign and **litetature,** which has been descuss d in the chapter nine wnile a fuller treatment is given to the art, architecture and the gardens will in the tenth chapter. There occurred a considerable beautification of various scenic spots during this period. Therefore, through treatment has been given to the Mughal gardens which sprang up around these places . Coming to the conclusion the Mughal acquisition of Subah was, as a matter of fact a vived blessing in disgiuse. The shatterd economy of Kashmir entered a new phase and Kashmir novelties entered into the world market. There was substantial improvement in the field of gardening and horti-oulturi. The development in the fields of learning and literature was not less remarkable. Moreover to the Mughal rule usherd in a new social order with broader outlook, and tolerance. However despite all these achievements, the annexation of the kingdom by the Mughals affected the martial spirit adversly and retarded the erstawhile growth of the Kashmirs in which regional or some sort of national instincts had a predominant role to play and which, given adequate opportunit at self enfression, would have led ultimately to the fuller development of a viable and national state.

. . .

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

It is my pleasant duty to gr atefully acknowledge the gracious help which I received from Professor Irfan Habib, Head of the Department of History for the valuable suggestions in the progress of my work particularly in regard to drawing of the map of the Ṣubāh of Kashmir and certain problems of agrarian history of Kashmir in spite of his too many academic and administrative engagements.

I am also grateful to Professor K.A. Nizami, former Head of the Department, for his keen interest in the completion of my work and my welfare. I must also thank Professor Mohibbul Hasan, formerly Head of Department of History in the University of Srinagar for his very useful suggestions on different aspects of my work.

I must express my grateful appreciation for the devotion, and affection shown by my Supervisor, Dr M Zameeruddin Siddiqi, in the preparation, supervision, and correction of my thesis. Even when he was away to London, his interest in my work by his valuable guidance was manifested through correspondence. I am really overwhelmed with emotion in expressing the gratitude that I owe to him for his scholarly and laborious guidance and great interest that he took in my personal welfare and peace of mind to carry on my research without any distractions throughout my stay at Aligarh. Words really failed me to express myself for his affectionate regard.

I must affectionately thank my father, Khwaja Abdul Gani Mattoo, and mother for encouraging me through the stresses and strains of my research work during the entire period of my absence from them.

I am very grateful to Professor G.R. Bacha Patron, Muslim Educational Trust, Kashmir, who aroused my interest in this field. I am equally grateful to M. Ismail Nisar for his encouragement and helpfulness. I am also indebted to Mr Shamsuddin Mattoo, my younger brother, who shouldered all my other responsibil ties at home despite his adolescent age. I thankfully acknowledge the kind help rendered to me by Miss Safiya Abdullah in many ways during the final drafting of this work even at the cost of her own studies.

I owe my thanks to the members of the staff of the Research Library, Department of History, AMU., Aligarh,particularly Mr Aijaz Mohd. Khan, Mr Jalal Abbas Abbasi, and Mr S. Abdul Hasib, the Librarian and the staff of the Maulana Azad Library, AMU., Aligarh, and Research Library, Srinagar.

I am also thankful to Professor Fida Mohammad Hasnain, Director, Research Libraries and Archives, Srinagar. He made photo-stat copies of various farmans and other documents available to me.

I am very thankful to Mr M.A. Khan Afridi, who remained at my disposal even at odd hours while typing this manuscript.

Lastly I must affectionately acknowledge the contribution of my wife, Mrs Sajida Majeed who played no less important role in the completion of my work through encouraging me and shouldering the household responsibilities during my long absence of my home.

(ABDUL MAJID MATTOO)

C O N T E N T S

****
****
****
*****
***
*

INTRODUCTION

The Mughal Ṣubāh of Kashmir dates back to Akbar's annexation of the region consequent upon the brushing aside of the feeble resistance offered by the Chak Sultanate to the aggressive forces of the Mughals in 1586. This political upheaval unnerved the Kashmiri people as it involved the loss of independence and the forcing upon them a new political and social order. But the change gradually proved to be a mixed blessing as it ushered in an era of wider political and social relations, peace and tranquility, social and sectarian harmony, promotion of industry and trade, opening up of new trade routes, extension of the Mughal system of administration, development of gardening with requisite irrigation works, architectural activity and followed in its wake the remarkable growth of arts and letters, education and learning and the catholicity and universal tolerance preached and practised by a number of the ṣūfi orders which found in Kashmir a very fertile soil to function and flourish.

The continuity of a stable rule in Kashmir and the establishment of peace and order and the security provided by the might of the Mughal arms reassured the people who had becom sick of the intriques and rebellions under the weak Sultans of the declining Chak dynasty and felt relieved at being placed under the powerful rule of the Mughals. The promotion of industry and trade through the security on roads and opening of better routes connecting far-fleeing areas and throwing open the outside world to the merchants and traders and the people of Kashmir afforded

unique opportunities for the economic development of the region, bringing about new social attitudes by brisk contacts with the people of the other parts of Mughal India and the foreign countries and breaking the age-long isolation of Kashmir to which both nature and man had contributed and which the Mughal domination had smashed up.

Yet the Mughal adventure in Kashmir was not actuated by any philanthropic motives to extend the blessings of peace to the troubled northern state or to associate the people of Kashmir in the grandiose task of building up a welfare state in India in which the Kashmiri genius would also be blended to make a distinct contribution. The aggressive endeavours of Akbar to extend his sway over Kashmir, or preferably to bring about its annexation to the Mughal Empire, was prompted both by imperialistic designs and considerations of the defence of the Empire which was increasingly menaced by the growing Uzbek Empire. If the outlying northern and north-western regions were to be firmly secured in the Mughal hands, both Kabul and Kashmir should be acquired, strengthened, pacified and garrisoned so as to counter-poise the threat from the Uzbeks or any other Central Asian powers which might assume alarming proportions in future. The strategic and military importance of Kashmir rendered it both a source of weakness to the Mughal Empire if placed in hostile hands and a region of strength and tactical superiority if wrested from the local power and absorbed into the Empire. And Akbar was not a man to fail or falter once he had set his heart on an adventure if he had dispassionately come to realise its indispensability as to further his interests. The occupation of Kashmir and the subsequent

Mughal acquisitions of Little Tibet, Great Tibet, Sarshāl, Daimyāl, Damtūr, Pakhli, Noushahra, Rajouri and Punch pushed forward the Mughal boundaries to the natural frontiers which considerably facilitated the task of the defence of the Empire by man no less than by nature. Herein lies the true significance of the Mughal advance into Kashmir.

Another factor which might have impelled the Mughals to try their hands in Kashmir seems to have been the pleasures and respite which the enchanting valley of Kashmir with its famed scenic spots, superb natural beauty, bracing and healthfu climate, its colourful flowers, variety of fruits, game, birds and animals offered to the visitors and the Mughals were attracted to these enjoyments to pass the summer days in the valley to avoid the scroching heat of the Indian plains.

The opportunity to fish in the troubled waters of the politics of Kashmir was provided by the weaklings who sat on the Kashmiri throne in the days of the decline of the Chak Kingdom, the faction fight among the self-seeking nobility, slackness in administration, diminution in revenues and the Shia-Sunni conflicts which destroyed the peace and order in the society. The feeble attempts of Yusuf Shah Chak and the inexperience of Yâqūb Shah Chak to mobilise the energetic elements in the Chak nobility to serve the ends of the Sultanate led to the Kashmiri's disaster and its passing into the Mughal hands. The attempts of the recalcitrant national elements to reassert independence subsequent to 1586 were faredoomed to failure as they lacked the

resources to fight against the mighty Mughal Empire.

The loss of independence to the Kashmiris in 1586, despite the many good and beneficial aspects of the Mughal rule was a disaster of great magnitude. It undermined the spirit of independence, self-realisation and the flowering of the martial characteristics of the Kashmiri people who constituted merely an insignificant element in the Mughal army. The prolonged Mughal rule, 1586-1752 was followed by the Afghan and Sikh occupations and the spirits of the Kashmiri people were ultimately dampened by the loss of opportunities for the self-growth.

The Mughals had given unity to the region and with the rest of the Empire, uniformity of administrative set-up, extension of agriculture, growth of trade and commerce, maintenance and opening up of trade routes, export of shawls and woollen textiles to different parts of India and foreign countries the laying out of numerous beautiful gardens and monuments and the beautification of scenic spots and above all the tremendous boost to tourist industry by the royalty, nobility and aristocracy and the social elite so much so that the link line of the Empire with Kashmir was well-frequented and briskly busy. The annual royal visits together with the court paraphernalia had contributed to the well-being and importance of Kashmir. Poets say priases of the beauty-natural and human-of Kashmir. The famous verse from Urfi portrays this feeling palpably:

هر سوخته جانی که به کشمیر درآید + گر مرغ کباب است که با بال و پر آید

But the Mughals, being an imperialist power, chiefly interested in the exploitation of peasantry and the resources of Kashmir as elsewhere in India, did very little to bring about the real happiness and welfare of the masses, extension of irrigation and agriculture, the urbanisation and enrichment of the people and the return of dividends to the workers and the tillers of the soil.

Unfortunately very little work has so far been done on the history of Kashmir notwithstanding the great importance which the study deserves. Only a few published works exist on the subject, particularly the scholarly work of Prof. Mohibbul Hasan entitled, Kashmir Under the Sultans, 'A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, 1320-1819' by Dr R.K. Parmu, 'Kashir' GGMD. Sufi and the like. The last two works are sketchy and sweeping as regards the history of the Mughal Ṣubāh of Kashmir some work is being done in Jammu and Kashmir on the ancient, modern and the Sultanate periods but the history of Mughal Kashmir is sadly neglected. Hence the present work is an humble attempt to fill this great lacuna.

Since a systematic work on all the aspects of Mughal Kashmir would have been too extensive for the scope of a thesis, I was advised to make a study of the history of the Ṣubāh of Kashmir with particular emphasis to the various facets of administration and society while at the same time giving necessary treatment to other aspects like the history of art and literature political developments, economic affairs and the like.

I wish and hope, if the circumstances favour me, I would devote my efforts to undertake fuller treatment of Mughal Kashmir and the subsequent history of Jammu and Kashmir.

There is one heartening factor on the history of Mughal Kashmir. The source material bearing on the history of the period is abundant and varied. It is spread over in a number of libraries, archives, archaeological remains, museums, personal collections and religious literature in numerous shrines and religious places. I have interwoven the widely scattered segments of this mass of historical sources to construct a picture of the most conspicuous aspect of the history of the Mughal Ṣūbāh of Kashmir.

*

SOURCES

The period under review is so rich in source material that it is not possible to fully describe and evaluate each source separately.

Historians have already discussed the importance of many of the general source books but their utility in regard to the History of the Ṣubāh of Kashmir requires further explanation.

The material at our disposal can be classified as under:

A History works of a general character

B Provincial sources

C Administrative manuals

D Tazkiras and Epistolary Collections

E Travellers' Accounts

F Archaeological evidence.

A. History Works of a General Character

Official, and semi-official chronicles and other historical works written during our period can be included in this category.

Akbarnama by Abul Faz'l, Akbarnama Faizi, Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh by Badāuni Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, Ma'āsir-i-Jahangiri, Shahjahan Nama Qazvini, Badshah Nama Lahori and Badshah Nama of Waris, Amal-i-Salih by Kumbu, 'Ālamgir Nama Mohammad Kazim, Ma'asir-i-'Alamgiri by Sāqi

Musta'id Khan, Waqiat-i-'Alamgiri by 'Aqil Khān Rāzi and Muntakhab-u-Lubāb by Khāfi Khān are well-known sources of our period.

Akbar Nama by Abul Faz'l

The historical and literary qualities of the Akbar Nama have already been dealth with in details and, therefore, it does not require any further explanation.

Having accompanied Akbar on his visits to the Ṣubāh, Abul Fazl throws light on its various aspects.

The information regarding the Mughal-Chak rivalry is quite exhaustive. He, however, tries to justify the Mughal cause.

The references and the revenue assessment reports, topographical details and the description of routes followed by Akbar has further increased its importance.

Faizi's Akbar Nama does not provide us any new information. It just supplements Abul Faz'l.

Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri

Leaving administrative evidence aside, the importance of Tuzuk lies in the graphic, exhaustive and unbiased account of socio-economic conditions in Kashmir. The Tuzuk contains information about birds, flowers, fruits, agricultural and forest products, houses, dress, diet and manners of the people. Social life of Pakhli, Punch, Rajouri

and Kashtawār have been fully discussed.

The information about the routes leading to Kashmir is detailed and descriptive.

The *Ma'asir-i-Jahangir*, *Iqbal Nama Jahangiri* and *Jahangir Nama* by Abul Hasan do not give us any new information.

Shahjahan Nama Qazvini, *Badshah Nama* Lahori, *Badshah Nama* Wariṣ and *ʿAmal-i-Sālih* by Kumbu provide us information about administrative, social and economic conditions. A detailed description of the gardens and monuments of the period is very interesting. Qazvini has covered the first decade while Lahori the first and second. Wariṣ and Kumbu narrate the description of the whole reign of Shahjahān.

Lahori and Kumbu have given us a comprehensive account of the routes and inns.

The description of the Tibet expedition and topographical information of the region is also quite interesting feature of Lahori's work.

The chronicles of Aurangzeb's reign do not contain any new information about our Ṣubāh. However, the administrative changes which took place from time to time have been well recorded.

The sources of other nature like administrative manuals, epistolary works, *Tazkiras* of poets and ṣūfis help us in analysing the institutions and the history of this period.

B. Provincial Sources

Rajatangni by Shrivara is the only contemporary Sanskrit source of Kashmir. It was written in 1597. The narrative is very brief and there is no sequence of events. There are only a few dates which makes it further confusing. I have consulted the English translation of J.C. Dutt.

Bahāristān-i-Shāhi

It is a Persian work by some anonymous writer. It was completed in 1614. The events leading to the **downfall** of Chaks and ascendance of the Mughals are exhaustive. But the subsequent events after the transfer of Yousf Khān Rizvi are very brief.

There are two manuscripts of this in the Research Library, Srinagar and one in British Museum. The BM manuscript is more detailed and complete. It has defective chronology.

Tārikh-i-Kashmir by Malik Haidar Chādūra, is a comprehensive history from very earliest times to 1620-21. The author accompani Yousf Shah Chak in his exile. After his death, he was given the lofty title of Chugtā'i and Ra'isul-Mulk. The zamindāri of his native place was also assigned to him by Jahangir.

It throws light on social and political institutions of the period. A detailed account of Kashtawār and Punch expeditions have been well narrated. But the author always eulogizes the wisdom and courage of his family, the Maliks.

Mukhtasar Tārikh-i-Kashmir by Narain Koul Ājiz was compiled in 1710. It is an abridgement of Haidar Malik's work. It is sketchy and brief.

There is a list of parganahs along with the number of villages in each pargana.

I have consulted three manuscripts of this work available in Research Library, Srinagar, and one in the Department Library of the History Department, AMU., Aligarh. The last one is complete in Naskhi style.

Nawādirul-Akbar by Aba Rafi-ud-Din Ahmad. It was compiled in 1723. The ancestors of the author had come from Balkh, but he himself was Kashmiri by birth. The author discussed the social and sūfi movement at length, but he has overestimated the influence of religion factor in the civil wars. The work, though defective in chronology, gives some new information about the sofical life.

The Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, by Mohammad 'Azam was compiled in 1748 It consists of three divisions. The first is based on the information of Kalhan's Raja Tarangni, the second deals with the Sultanate period, and the third with the Mughal rule. It is a biography of Sūfis, Saints and scholars, but side by side throws light on the administration of the period. The events of the Aurangzeb's reign are more comprehensive. There are occasional references to the economic condition of the people also.

Lubu Tawārikh is a political history by the same author compiled in 1164/1750. It does not contain any new information.

Gouhar-i-'Alam by Mohammad Aslam Mun'ami is a history from earliest times to the close of 12th century Hijra. It is an abridgement of Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir. The author had the same sources at his disposal which were used by Mohammad Azam (father of the author). It does not provide us with much new information.

C. Administrative Manuals

A'in-i-Akbari is a work unique in its nature. It is a mine of information for the administrative and economic history of the period. The Chapter on revenue system is exhaustive. The social aspect of the period has not been neglected. It contains information about fruits, vegetables, and other novelties of Kashmir. The Chapter on shawls is also detailed.

The topographical information is defective. But its translators particularly Jarret help us in identifying various places.

It is strange that the various manuscripts of the work vary from one another. Blochmann's edition is comprehensive and more reliable, but the India Office Copy is earliest, and more authetntic. Nowl Kishore edition of 1889 is a verbetam copy of Blochmann's edition. There are two administrative manuals dated 1724 and c.1752 in Jammu Archives and Research Library, Srinagar. The Jammu Archives manual provides us statistical information about revenue etc, besides administrative details.

Gulshan Dastūr by Nath Pandith bears the date 1120 H/1710-11, but there are events of later dates which have also been recorded. The last event is related with the Ṣubahdāri of Sukh Jiwan.

It is a voluminous work in verse and prose consisted of 73 chapters (Gulshan) each chapter has a few sections (Botas).

It is a mine of information so far socio-economic history of the period is concerned. The ijāradāri system and raís of various crops have been copiously described.

The manuscript is complete but the loss of one chapter on revenue statistics is irreparable.

Tarikh-i-Hasan (in four volumes)

The style of this volume is like that of A'in-i-Akbari. Though the work belongs to the late 19th century, but the author claims to have access to some contemporary sources which are not extent now. It throws light on social, and economic life of the people besides giving detailed description of routes, trade and commerce, and earthquakes and famines.

D. Tazkiras and Epistolary Collections

Asrārul-Abrār by Da'ud Mishkwāti was compiled in 1653. It is a biography of various Ṣūfis and Saints, occasionally throws light on socio-economic and political history also.

Khwāriqus-Sālikīn written in 1697-98 is another Tazkira of our period. It is also a biography of Saints. The

author has shed light on socio-economic life of the people also, and the role played by these Ṣūfis in social transformation.

Tuhfatul-Fuqarā of Moḥammad Murād Tang was written in 1710-11AD. It is also biography of Sūfis and Saints. The author has great reverence for Sheikh Aḥmad Sirhindi and his successors. He provides us with information about their disciples in Kashmir.

Rouzatul-Ārifin by Ziyā-ud-Din Kashtawāri is a biography of Qādiri Saints of Kashtawār who introduced Islam in Kashtawār. It was written some times in 18th century. The author was a disciple of Shah Asrārud-Din. The manuscript in the Research Library, Srinagar, is incomplete and defective.

Epistolary Collections in Research Library, Srinagar, edited by various persons are mainly of Aurangzeb's period. A Collection edited by Abdus Samad of 40 folios, another Collections by anonymous (Acc Nos. 3102, 2776, 2193, 2675, and letter collecti in S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar,) provide us with information on social, economic and administrative conditions of our period.

E. European Travellers' Accounts

St J. Xavier, and Bendict-de-goes were the first known European travellers who set foot on the soil of Kashmir in 1597. The account of the Fathers is very brief. The Ṣūbāh of Kashmir at the time of their arrival was in the grip of a terrible famine.

Their account, though short, throws light on economic conditions of the people and the effects of the Mughal conquest have also been highlighted.

Pelsaert's Account about Kashmir is also sketchy. It also gives us information about the trade and commerce of the Ṣubāh.

Berneir's Account

Of all the travellers' accounts, Berneir's account is most exhaustive, and lucid. He starts his narrative about Kashmir as soon as the imperial camp enters Bhimbar territory. His topographical information is reliable. It is rich in information about social life, economic conditions, arts and crafts is concerned.

The account about Ladakh is inconclusive and defective.

Desideri and Father Fryre came to Kashmir in 1714 on their way to Tibet. The Fathers remained in the valley for a number of months, which enabled them to give us an accurate account of social, and economic life of the people. It is very important source so far as the trade and commerce of Kashmir with the Little and Greater Tibet, Chānthān, Nepal, and Bhutān is concerned.

It contains information about the political Geography and the borders of Ladakh and Tibet.

De Filipi has rendered its Italian version into English.

George Forster came to Kashmir in 1783. He has published the account of his travels in two volumes. It throws

light on the social and economic life of the people. His topographical information is reliable.

The accounts of latter travellers like Moorcorft, George Trebeck, G.T. Vigne, Francés Younghusband, Fredric Drew and A.H. Francke give detailed information about social and economic life and the topography of the whole of Ṣubāh.

F. Archaeological Sources

The period under review is rich in archaeological evidences. There are numerous living examples of monuments, gardens, Inns, bridges, and shrines, which help us in formulating our views on the various aspects of Mughal Kashmir.

Inscriptions:

Some of the inscriptions on archaeological works are very important e.g., the inscription on the Jamiá Masjid at Srinagar gives us information about the abolition of certain Abwābs during the reign of Jahangir. The inscription on Akbar's fort at Srinagar is also valuable. This is a concise account and brief evaluation of some of the more important source material. A select bibliography of the sources utilized in the preparation of the thesis given at the end.

*

CHAPTER I

THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN KASHMIR - ANNEXATION, EXPANSION AND CONSOLIDATION

Kashmir was formally annexed to the Mughal Empire in 1586 but the process of occupation had started much earlier. With the decline of the Shahmir dynasty, the refractory nobles and claimants to the throne solicited the help of the Mughals to strengthen their own claims.[1] But the final blow was struck by the conquest of Mirzā Haidar Duglat in 1540, as the subversive activities of the nobles and the chieftains had already set in motion the process of the decay of the Shah Mir power. The internal disturbances exposed the kingdom to foreign aggression. The chaos and confusion resulted in the breakdown of the administration. The tributory states withheld payment of tribute and in due course of time broke away from the kingdom. The successors of Sultan Zainulabidin were not able to administer the kingdom efficiently. This situation sopped the vitality and strength of opposition to foreign aggression.

The conquest of Kashmir by Mirzā Haidar Duglat was an event of great significance. He invaded Kashmir twice. In

---

1. Humayun, Shērshah, Kāmran, and Akbar were approached from time to time by these chieftains. It ultimately led to the downfall of the Shāh Mīr Sultanate, Raj Tarangni, Suka, Eng. tr. R.C. Dutt, p. 364.

   Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, Chapter VI.

1533, he was acting as a commander of Sultan Sa'id of Kāshghar. Pursuing an expansionist policy Sultan Said directed a campaign against Ladakh. After the conquest of Ladakh the Mirzā marched against Kashmir. The guards of Zojillā pass were taken surprisingly by him. They were defeated but Mirzā left Kashmir in the same year,[2] leaving behind a demoralised army and a Sultan whose pride was badly hurt.

During the next decade the Mughal Empire suffered a terrible reverse. Humayun was defeated by Shershah. The former decided to proceed to Kashmir. Meanwhile Mirzā Ḥaidar was approached by Abdāl Māgrey and Regi Chak for help against Kāji Chak.[3] The Mirzā also suggested to Humayun to march to Kashmir. But he declined to accept their proposal on various grounds.[4] Mirzā Ḥaidar then proceeded to Kashmir in 1540, and defeated the disarrayed forces of Kashmir.[5] The Khutba was recited and coins struck in the name of Humāyūn.[6] But the Mirzā allowed Nazuk Shah to continue as Sultan. Mirza Haidar divided the entire of Kashmir among himself, Malik Abdal Magrey, and Malik Regi Chak.[7] The Khalisa land shrank and the nobles were

2. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultan, p. 129.
3. Tārikh-i-Rashidi, p. 486.
   Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 145.
4. Firishta, II, p. 355.
5. Firishta, II, p. 355.
   Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, ff. 137-8.
   Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, ff. 139, 142, 145.
6. Ibid.
7. Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 137b.

also deprived of their property. In order to strengthen his position, ~~the~~ Mirzā Ḥaidar Dughlat put down the Shi'ites with a heavy hand. He sent a copy of Fiqan Ahuat to the 'Ulama of India who repudiated it and wrote a decree of remonstrance against its author[8] and his followers who were mainly the Chaks,[9] as the Chak nobility had a strong position in the kingdom. The contumaceous nobles joined hands with the opponents and thus got rid of Mirzā Ḥaidar Duglat by killing him in an encounter in 1550.[10] Verily his death caused a vacuum in the administrative set up of the Ṣubāh which was not filled until the administration of the Ṣubāh was reorganised on a sound footing.

Nāzuk Shāh was succeeded by Ismāil Shāh in 1555 for the second time.[11] He was just a titular head and it was Gāzi Shāh who virtually ruled the kingdom.[12] He did nothing to heal up the wounds of the nobles caused by the Mirzā's tough rule but laid hands on to crush them further. He assassinated Malik Daulat Chak and himself became the Vazir.[13] Malik Shamsi Raina escaped to India to seek the help of Emperor Humāyun.[14] During

---

8. Tārikh-i-Rashidi, p. 435.
9. Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, ff. 78-9.
   Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 131b.
10. Malik Haidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 147b.
11. Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 122b.
    Ismail Shah was son-in-law of Malik Kāji Chak.
12. Suka, Raja Tarangni, p. 377. Baharistan-i-Shahi, f.11
13. Baharistan-i-Shahi, f. 123b.
14. Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 154.
    His father was killed by Gazi Shah.

his stay at the Court, Humayun died. Shamsi Raina leaving disgusted, met Shah Abul Maʿāli. He did not cultivate good relations with Akbar, so he was imprisoned in 1556,[15] at Lahore. He escaped and collected a contingent of three to four hundred men at Delhi and Lahore.[16] But Gāzi Shah forestalled the invading forces by inflicting a defeat at Hanjiwēra in 1558; Shah Abul Maʿāli had a narrow escape.[16a] This success puffed him up with inflated pride and he adopted a ruthless policy towards the suspected nobles.[17] Meanwhile Ismāʿil Shah died in 1557, Gāzi Shah proclaimed his nephew, Habīb Shah, as King. In 1561 on account of Habib Shah's incompetence he himself ascended the throne and laid the foundation of the Chak dynasty.[18] During his regency Akbar was approached by the refractory nobles. Thereupon Akbar despatched Qarā Bāhadur with a force of 7000 soldiers against Gāzi Shah in 1560.[19] Kashmiri nobles did not back Qara Bahadur and he marched towards Rajouri.[20] Gazi Shah also marched against him and Mughal forces were routed with a large

---

15. A.N., I, p. 16.
16. A.N., II, pp. 101-2.
Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 124.
Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 155a.
16a. Suka, Raja-Tarangni, p. 389.
Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 125. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 150.
17. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 158.
18. Suka, Raja-Tarangni, p. 383.
19. A.N., II, p. 129.
Suka, Raja-Tarangni, p. 389.
Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 157.
20. A.N., II, p. 129.
Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 157.

number wounded and killed.[21] Qarā Bahadūr was made to retreat. The result of this defeat was that Akbar did not launch any attack for about twentysix years. Gāzi Shāh was a strong ruler. He had oppressed the refractory elements and garrisoned the passes.

In the forthcoming years Akbar kept a vigilent eye on the developments in Kashmir. He accredited four missions to Kashmir in order to get up-to-date information about the interna conditions.[22] Meanwhile Gāzi Shāh died of leprosy and he was succeeded by Ḥusain Shah in 1567.[23]

As already mentioned Mirzā Ḥaidar Duglat had adopted a policy of repression towards the non-Hanafites. Shia nobles were suppressed with an iron hand. The Chaks Sultans attempted to avenge the wrongs committed by the Mirzā. As such the communal frenzy had the upper hand during this period.[24] In 1568-69, Yousf Āindār, an ordinary soldier abused Qāẓi Ḥabīb who was hastening on horseback to lead the prayer. The Qāzi punished him with whipping and Yousf Āindar injured him with his sword.[25] The incident aroused the feelings of the Sunnis.

---

21. A.N., II, p. 129.
 Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, pp. 150-1.
 Qarā Bahādūr was assisted by ~~Sultan~~ Nazūk Shah also.
 Suka, Raja Tarangni, p. 384.

22. Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 183b.

23. Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 169a.

24. Firishta, pp. 363-4.
 A.N., II, p. 502.

25. Firishta, p. 364.
 Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 127b.

The Ulama convened a meeting under Qāẓi Mūsa, Mulla Ṣāliḥ Ganāʿi and Mullā Yousf. A decree for the execution of Yousf ʿĀindār was issued.[26] Husain Shah had no alternative but to yield under their pressure.[27] Since Qāẓi Ḥabīb was injured, the Shi'ets considered the execution of the culprit unjustified. In the same year Akbar had sent Mirzā Muqīm and Mīr Yaqoob to the court of Sultān Husain Shah.[28] Sultan Husain Shāh entrusted the case to Mirzā Muqīm.[29] The envoys had a soft corner for the Shias for their belonging to the same sect.[30] Mirzā Muqīm suggested the prosecution of the defaulting Qāẓis. Ḥusain Shāh acted upon his advice, executed Qāzi Mūsa and Mullā Yousf. Their bodies were draged around the city which caused a terror to the Sunnis.[31] This act alienated the Sunnis thoroughly and a section of them under the leadership of Mulla Abdulla, Ali Koka and Doni Koka,[32] proceeded to the Court of Akbar to appeal to him to intervene with a view to redressing their grievances, Akbar was eagerly awaiting such an opportunity He got Mirzā Muqīm and Yāqoob Mīr executed.[33] Mullā Abdullah, Doni Koka and Ali Koka were also imprisoned.[34] But he sent back

---

26. Firishta, II, p. 363. Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 127.
27. Firishta, II, p. 363.
28. Firishta, II, p. 364. Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 128.
29. Bahāristān-i-Shahi, f. 128.
30. Firishta, II, p. 364.
31. Firishta, II, p. 364.
32. Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 130.
33. Firishta, II, f. 364.
34. Bada'ūni, II, pp. 124-25.

a daughter of Ḥusain Shah together with the presents. A majority of the people thereafter looked Akbar for vindication of the wrongs. Soon Akbar deputed another delegation to Kashmir comprising Mullā ᶜAshqi and Qāẓi Sadruddin in 1573 to ask ᶜAli Shah to accept the Mughal suzerainty.[35] The envoys succeeded in their mission and on their return submitted a detailed report to Akbar on the assessment of the internal condition which was the real motive of this mission.[36]

ᶜAli Shah was succeeded by Yousf Shah in A.D. 1580 but he was ousted by Mubārak Khān Baiḥaqi.[37] The latter was in his turn deposed after a brief occupation of three months and yousf Shah was again proclaimed the Sultan. However, on account of the mutual dissensions he was again dethroned and Lohar Chak was declared the Sultan.[38] Disgusted and disappointed at the turn of affairs Yousf Shah Chak left for Lahore via Jammu to invoke the help of Akbar through the instrumentality of Sayyid Yousf Khān.[39] From Lahore, Yousf Shah Chak was accompanied by Yousf Khān and Raja Mān Singh, governor of Lahore to Fateḥpūr.[40] Ḥaidar Chak was sent

---

35. A.N., II, p. 247. Hasan-Bin-Mohammad-Alkhāki, f.444a.
36. Firishta, II, p. 366. Tahqiqat-i-Ameeri, f. 88b.
37. Iqbal Nama, II, p. 335.
38. Firishta, II, p. 366. Iqbal-Nama, II, p. 335. Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 175a.
39. Firishta, II, p. 366. Iqbal-Nama, II, p. 335.
40. Firishta, II, p. 366. Hasan-Bin-Mohammad-Alkhaki, f. 466.

back to Kashmir to keep an eye on the developments in the kingdom, but Yousf Shāh remained at the court for about one year. A contingent was sent along with Yousf Shah Chak under the command of Raja Mān Singh, Yousf Khān Mashhadi and Yousf Khān Rizvi.[41] At advance of the Mughal army and its pressing hard, the Kashmiri nobles were alarmed. They approached Yousf Shah Chak through Abdāl Bhat who convinced Yousf Shah about the futility of such conquest.[42] Leaving the Mughal forces at Sialkot Yousf Shah proceeded towards Lahore.[43] Mohammad Bhat was awaiting Yousf Shah at Bahlolpur with an army of one thousand soldiers.[44] He marched to Lahore post-haste and with their efforts a contingent of 4000 men was raised to march on Kashmir via Rajouri - without any Mughal assistance.[45] On account of favourable conditions Yousf Shah was able to regain his throne in 1580.[46] This act of Yousf Shah roused the jealousy and anger of the Mughal nobles who were to restore him to the monarchy of Kashmir. Akbar too was to learn of this sudden development. The Mughal Emperor was now too

---

41. According to Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 176b. Yousf did not receive any help from Akbar, he returned empty handed to Lahore does not seem correct. See
(i) Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 157.
(ii) Hasan-Bin-Alkhaki, f. 466.

    Arguments advanced by Dr Parumu, A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, p. 266, are not convincing.
42. Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 157.
43. Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 176a.
44. Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 176a.
45. Bahāristān-i-Shahi, f. 157.
    Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 176. Firishta, p.366.
46. Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 180.

enthusiastic and precipitate to bring Kashmir under his suzerainty.[47] But his hands were tied elsewhere to allow him to prosecute his design in right earnest.

In 1581, Akbar sent Mirzā Ṯāhir and Mirzā Sāliḥ ʿAqil with a farman demanding personal homage on the part of Yousf Shah,[48] who was reluctant to attend the court in person because he had been overwhelmed by the grandure of Akbar's Court.[49] He sent his son, Ḥaidar, along with the envoys and some rich presents.[50] Mirzā Sāliḥ had reported to Akbar about the demoralised state of Yousf Shah.[51] Akbar sent back Shaikh Yaqoobi Ṣarfī and Ḥaidar who was in the Court as a hostage with a concilliatory letter,[52] directing him to persuade Yousf Shah to attend the Court in person. Yousf Shah was alarmed and he sent another of his sons and successor Yāqoob with a enormous presents. Yāqoob remained at the Court for one year.[52a] During this period

---

47. A.N., III, p. 537. Firishta, II, p. 366.

48. Badāʿūni, I, p. 189. Ma'asir-i-Rahimi, II, p. 259.

49. A.N., III, p. 389. Tahqiqāt-i-Ameeri, f. 88b.

50. Malik Haidar, f. 184a.

51. A.N., III, p. 390.

52. Ibid. (ii) Ahasanu-Tawarikh, f. 446b. (iii) Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 184b. (iv) Gouhar-i-Alam, p. 221. According to Kashmir sources, Akbar returned the presents and Haidar pressed Yousf Shah to come in person. But it has not been mentioned in Akbar Nama.

52a. A.N., III, p. 450.

he kept Yousf Shah informed about the intentions of Akbar. Despite these ominous developments, Yousf Shah neglected administration,[53] and failed to make vigorous efforts to meet the Mughal menace. Akbar on his part was alert, vigilent and fully determined to undertake an offensive in the north. He mobilised his army with intent to gain control across the Northern frontier to achieve the annexation of Kashmir.[54] But on the other hand Yousf Shah was slack, vacillating and unprepared and led a life of ease and comfort[55] ignoring the portaits of the events to come and the imploring his nobles.[55a] Since Yousf Shah did not heed the imperial demand of personal homage to Akbar. The latter decided to move in person if Yousf Shah failed to come to the Court at Lahore.[56] Yaqoob Chak learnt of all this and stole his escape from the Mughal camp advancing to Lahore and reached Kashmir to apprise Yousf Shah of the new developments.[57] Meanwhile Akbar had deputed two envoys, Hakim Ali and Bahaud Din to persuade the Sultan to attend the Court in person.[58] Yousf Shah

---

53. Malik Haidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 184b.

54. Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, pp. 133-4.

55. Malik Haidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 184b.

55a. Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f, 172b.
Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 184b.

56. Firishta, II, p. 367.

57. A.N., III, p. 509. Iqbal-Nama, II, p. 388.
Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 187a.

58. A.N., III, p. 509. Ma'asir-i-Rahimi, II, p. 261.

went to receive the envoys as far as Thanā, because he was alarmed at the truancy of Yāqoob Shah.[59] The Sultan then escorted the envoys to Srinagar. He received them with great respect, but was still hesitant to agree to attend the Court in person. Some Kashmiri nobles, Baba Khalīl, Baba Mahdi, and Shamas Donī threatened Yousf Shah with dire consequences should he leave for the Mughal Court. They also decided to depose him and install his son on the throne.[60] The envoys left for the Court and reported to the Emperor about the state of affairs prevailing in the Ṣubā.[61]

Akbar wanted to expand his Empire in the South, which was not possible without a secure Northern frontier.[62] The growing power of Uzbek Empire, situation of Kabul, Roushnaì menace and refractory attitude in the North could have easily entraped Akbar in the South.

---

59. Malik Ḥaidar, f. 187b. In Firishta, II, p. 367, it is mentioned as Thatta which is a clerical mistake Ma'asiri-Rahimi, II, p. 261, has given the name as Bhandar which is not traceable.

60. Firishta, III, p. 367.
Ma'asir-i-Rahimi, II, p. 261.
Malik Haidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 187.

61. Firishta, II, p. 367.
Malik Haidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 188.

62. Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, p. 134.
V. Smith, Akbar, The Great Mogul, pp. 232-40.

Above all the enthusiasm which was roused among the nobility in Kashmir because of constant interference from Akbar, might have also cautioned Akbar. The Chak nobles decided to defend the kingdom at the cost of their lives.[63] Akbar did not allow them to consolidate their position. In spite of the onset of winter Akbar deputed a considerable force under the ~~command~~ guidance of Mirza Ali Akbar Shahi[64] and Haidar Khan[65] in December 1585.[66] Yousf Shah Chak moved towards Baramulla under the pressure of the nobles to meet the invading forces.[67] The Mughal forces encamped at the narrow defile of Paragana Dachan-Khāwāra.[68] After arraying the army, Yousf Shah marched towards the peak of Kuarmast. Skirmishes had already started near Beleasa.[69] The rigorous climate[70] and the enthusiasm shown by the Kashmiri forces[71] proved a hazard to the Mughal advance. They

---

63. Malik Haidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 188a.

64. A.N., III, p. 476. Ma'asir-ul-Umara, III, pp.355-6.

65. Haidar Khān was given a jagir by Raja Man Singh in Bhimber. He fled to Punjab on account of animosity with Yousf Shah, Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f.188b.

66. A.N., III, p. 476. Baduni, I, p. 189.

67. Malik Haidar, ~~ff.~~ Tarikh-i-Kashmir, ff. 189-9.

68. Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 188. According to A.N., III, p. 480, the army was stationed at Kuarmast and Yousf Shah encamped on the otherside of river, Nain Sukh, (A.N. III, p. 480), which is at present called Konhar. See the Map in the end. It is a tributory of River Jhelum.

69. A.N., III, (Beveridge), p. 724 n. R.K. Parmu, A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, p.276 n.

70. A.N., III, p. 480.

71. Malik Haidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 190b.

sued for peace. Bhagwant Das sent a message to Yousf Shāh to his camp.[72] In the morning Yousf Shāh came down pretending to inspect his advance guard and slipped to the Imperial Camp[73] along with Mirzā Qāsim, son of Khāwaja Mahdi Kokā and Latīf Najār.[74] Meanwhile Shaikh Yāqoob Ṣarfi persuaded the zamindars of Karna to cooperate with the Mughal forces.[75] On the other hand the Chak nobles approached Ḥasan Bēg to accept the command in the absence of Yāqoob.[76] Meanwhile Yāqūb escaped from the Mughal Court and was proclaimed Sultan. He did not approve of the role of his father. Fighting continued fiercely around Beleasa.[77] Owing to the adverse climatic conditions, and the shortage of food and fodder, the Mughal forces were disheartened.[78] Meanwhile alarming news came from Kabul as to Shamsuddin's reverse. Under these circumstances, Rājā Bhagwan Dās sued for peace. A treaty was concluded partly setting out terms with Yousf Shāh and partly with the new Sultan, Yāqoob Shāh.[79] Yousf Shāh was promised safety of life and restoration of the kingdom of Kashmir.[80]

---

72. Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 190. Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, f. 61.
73. A.N., III, p. 480.
74. Tabaqāt-i-Akbari, p. 632. Iqbal-Nama, II, p. 390.
75. A.N., III, p. 480.
76. Ibid.
77. Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 191.
78. A.N., III, p. 480. Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 190.
79. A.N., III, p. 481. Iqbal-Nama, II, p. 392.
80. A.N., III, p. 481.

Akbar did not ratify the treaty[81] and Yousf Shah was handed over to Todar Mal as an ordinary prisoner.[82] But on the departure of Mughal forces, Yáqoob Shah asserted his position as independent Sultan under the title of Shah Ismāīl.[83] Since Akbar could not tolerate such a state of affairs, he was so much annoyed with Raja Bhagwan Das that he was not granted audience for a long time.[84] In 1586, Akbar asked Shah Rukh Mirza to attack Kashmir, but he was reluctant to comply with on account of his past experiences.[85] On the other hand Shah Ismail over-estimated his success. He did not try to bring closer together with the two Muslim sects. Being a Shia of extreme views, he asked Qāzi Mūsa to include the name of ʿAli in the prayer call.[86] On his refusal Qāzi Mūsa was assassinated.[87] His religious fanaticism and extremism alienated the Sunnis from Ismāil Shāh.[88] The Shahmiri nobility was also active from the very beginning to over throw the Chak rule.[89]

---

81. A.N., III, p. 481.
82. Badāūni, Muntakhi-but-Tawārikh, II, p. 353.
Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 191b.
83. Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 192.
84. A.N., III, p. 488.
85. A.N., III, p. 493.
86. Iqbal-Nama, II, p. 400. A.N., III, p. 502.
87. Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 192.
Iqbal-Nama, II, p. 400.
Bahāristān-i-Shahi, f. 181.
88. Iqbal-Nama, II, p. 400.
89. Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, ff. 181-89.
Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, ff. 145-192, 193,195.

As already mentioned above Shaikh Yáqoobi Ṣarfi had led the first expedition and pursued the Kashmiris for submission[90] played a vital role against Yaqoob Shah. He had considerable influence over the Kashmiris, therefore, he was deputed along with Mohammad Qāsim Khān Mīr Baḥar to the expedition while he was in the Court Baba Daʿwood Khaki also met him and informed him about the developments.[91] Meanwhile the victorious Mughal army crossed into Kashmir and after a few skirmishes Mohammad Qāsim Khān entered the capital on 16th October, 1586.[92] Kashmiri forces were demoralized and disintegrated, but they resorted to guerilla warfare. Mohammad Qasim Khan was so much demoralized by the continued pressure and harassment from the Kashmiris that he sent in his resignation to Akbar.[93] But he was not spared. On both sides there was

---

90. A.N., III, p. 480.

91. Gouhar-i-'Alam, f. 233. Baba Daʿwood Khāki was a disciple of Shaikh Ḥamza Makhdoomi.

    Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 184, A group of Kashmiri Ulama proceeded to the Court of Akbar from Multan. They were led by Shaikh Yaqoobi Sarfi and Baba Davood Khaki. They concluded a treaty with Akbar and promised their help unconditionally. But neither the contemporary Mughal sources like, A.N., Badāúni, Firishta, nor Kashmiri sources support this. However, it is beyond doubt that the Sunnis helped the Mughals during this period, as they could not face the tyrany of the Chaks.

92. A.N., III, p.506. Suka, Raja-Tarangni, p.410. Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f.198. For the details of the incidents and battles, see Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, Chapter IX & X. Vigne, Travels, Vol. II, p.48, has given 1588, which is incorrect.

93. A.N., III, p.523. Baharistan-i-Shahi, f.189. Suka, Raja Tarangni, tr. J.C. Dutt, p. 413.

considerable loss of life and property. Each of them tried to overpower the other and regain the control over their strategic points. But the arrival of fresh contingent under the command of Yousf Khān Rizvi infused new blood in the Mughal army.[93a] Kashmiri forces gave way under the pressure of the Mughals.[94] Yáqoob Chak fled to Kashtawār.[95] In order to weed out refractory nobles both human and deceitful means were to consolidate their newly acquired territory. The demoralized nobles were persuaded to trust the Mughals, while on the other hand the hostile nobles were crushed.[96] The policy of pacification began to bear fruit and on the instigation of Mohammad Bhat, Lauhar Chak, son of Ibrahim Chak, and Ismāil Naik surrendered before Yousf Khan Rizvi.[97] However, Yaqoob Shah, Mahmood Bhat,[97b] Shamas Duni, Shamasi Chak and Maāli, son of Mubarāk Khān Baihaqi, continued the confrontation which as a matter of fact, did not serve any useful purpose.[98]

93a. Suka, Raja-Tarangni, tr. J.C. Dutt, pp. 413-14.

94. A.N., III, p. 509. **Iqbal Nama**, II, p. 402.

95. Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 193.

96. A.N., III, p. 523. Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 195.

97. Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 191. Mohammad Bhat was an influential noble of Kashmir. He was wazir of Yousf Shah Chak also. On account of luxurious attitude of Yousf Shah their relations deteriorated.

97b. Muh Bhat of Abul Fazl, A.N., III, p. 506.

98. Bahāristān-i-Shahi, f. 193.
Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, ff. 202-3.

When Yāqoob Khān failed to overcome the Mughals, his associates surrendered to the Mughals along with Abul Maáli, Shamsi Chak, and Shamas Doni.[99] They sued for peace through Sayyid Bahauddin.[100] They were sent to Akbar and he granted them favourable mansab,[101] but they were not allowed to return to Kashmir.[102]

Having broken the backbone of Kashmiri forces, Yousf Khān Rizvi now turned towards Bahram Naik, Saif Khān Baihaqi, Áli Khān and Iba Khān brother of Haidar Chak.[103] Bahram Naik was poisoned along with his family members,[104] Saif Khān Baihaqi, Áli Khān, and Ibrāhim Chak were blinded.[105] But Yaqoob Chak escaped to Kashtawar again in 1587.[106] Meanwhile Yousf Khān Rizvi was directed to leave for Kabul. He left Kashmir under the charge of Shah Baqir and on the persuasion of Latif Najar[107] imprisoned Sayyid Shah Abul Ma'ali, Alam Sher Khan

99. Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 193.

100. A.N., III, pp. 516, 523.
Bahāristān-i-Shahi, f. 194.

101. A.N., III, p. 528. Baharistan-i-Shahi, f. 194.

102. Ibid.

103. Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 194.

104. Ibid., f. 195a.

105. A.N., III, p. 523.
Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 195a.

106. Ibid., f. 196b.

107. A.N.,III, p. 595.
Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, ff. 197, 204ab, calls him Lullo Najar but according to Hasan Beg Alkhaki, f. 35, his name was Latif Najār. He was given the title of Nadirul Áṣṛi by Akbar.

Louhar Chak.[108] On account of the deteriorating situation in Kashmir, Yousf Khān Rizvī was sent back.[109] Sayyid Ábul Ma'āli was released from the prison and sent to serve Raja Mān Singh. In 1589, Akbar decided to visit Kashmir.[110] On his arrival common people thronged to see the Emperor but the belligerent chieftains were alarmed.[111] But Akbar had come to heal their wounds and patch up with the opponents and disarm them through persuasion.[111] The opponents were handsomely rewarded and the Emperor tried his best to elevate them.[112] Yaqoob Shah also paid homage to Akbar at Shahabud-Din Purā.[113] He was warmly welcomed and sent to Lahore to serve under Raja Mān Singh.[114] Subsequently letters were sent to Abdullah Uzbek making out a cas

---

108. Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 196.
109. Ibid.
110. A.N., III, p. 542.
Badauni, Muntakhabut-Tawārikh, II, p. 371.
Akbar entered Srinagar on June 5, 1589/25th Khurdad, 34th R.Y. According to Nawādirul Akhbār, f. 119, it was in 996H/1587 is incorrect. The chronogram of the visit given by him Khair Muqadam is also incorrect as it is equivalent to 994/1585. According to Mohibbul Hasan, Akbar visited Kashmir in June 1588., Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 192.
111. A.N., III, p. 540.
112. Ibid.
113. A.N., III, p. 541.
The confluences of River Jhelam and Nalla Sindh.
Suka, Raja Tarangni, p. 417.
114. A.N., III, p. 557.
Suka, Raja Tarangni, p. 417.

in favour of the Mughals and the circumstances lead up to the whole incident of the annexation of Kashmir.[115] Then Kabul campaign was launched and envoys were sent to the rulers of both the Tibets to accept the overlordship of Akbar.[116] In persuance of his expansionist policy Akbar wanted to overawe the Uzbek Emperor to keep his hands off from Kabul. The rulers of Tibet had been providing shelter to the Chaks, so they too were reprimanded and cautioned lest they should create any trouble when the Kabul campaign was in progress.

Owing to prolonged warfare and constant mobilization of armies the economy of the kingdom was badly affected. The atrocities of the occupation army had created chaos and confusion throughout the Ṣubāh.[117] Both agriculture and trade were in a deteriorating condition. Administrative set up was in a mess and the downfall of the local ruling clan had badly affected the morale of the people. Akbar immediately diverted his attention towards streamlining the administration and redress the grievances of the people. He introduced a number of reforms in order to bring the administrative and economic set up in tune with that of the Empire.[118]

In spite of all checks and restraints, rewards and appeasement a heroic but unsuccessful struggle continued against

---

115. A.N.,III, pp. 552-3.
116. A.N.,III, p. 553.
117. Suka, Raja Tarangni, tr. J.C. Dutt, p. 416.
118. A.N., III, p. 557. Iqbal Nama, II, p. 410. Suka, Raja-Tarangni, tr. J.C. Dutt, pp. 420-1.

the Mughals up to 1622 and even later whenever the Kashmiris had a chance to rebel against the imperial rule.[119] ~~During~~ Such an opportunity was afforded to them in the winter of 1590 when the Ṣubahdār, Yousf Khān Rizvi, was absent from Kashmir. Akbar had sent Qāẓi Nūrullāh and Qāẓi Ali to reassess the revenue of Kashmir on a complaint lodged by Pandith Tota Rām and Latīf Najār,[120] charging the governor with misappropriation of funds. The complaint proved to be correct and based on facts. The Revenue was enhanced. But Yousf Khān Rizvi objected to this enhancement as the Ṣubāh constituted his jagir.[121] So the land was attached to Khalisā and the soldiers were paid in cash.[121a] Meanwhile Yousf Khān Rizvi had gone to attend the Court leaving behind Mirzā Yādgār in-charge of the Ṣubāh.[122] Meanwhile a servant of Husain Beg molsted the wife of a servant of Riẓvī.[123] The disaffected group raided the house of Ḥusain Bēg but on account of the interference of Bābā Wali and Qāẓi Ali the dispute was resolved,[124] but Husain Beg invited some of his opponents an put them to death.[125] This incident ignited the fire and a mass

---

119. Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, ff. 204a-b.
120. A.N., III, p. 595. Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, ff. 204a-b.
121. A.N., III, p. 595.
121a. Akbarnama, III, p. 627.
122. A.N., p. 618.
123. Iqbal Nama, II, p. 429.
~~124.~~ Ḥusain Bēg Khān was appointed as Diwan in 1589. See Chapter II, Section III, for details.
124. A.N., III, pp. 617-8. Iqbal-Nama, II, p. 429.
125. Ibid.

rising took place to overthrow the Mughal rule.[126] Darvēsh Ali, Ādil Bēg, Yāqoob Bēg and Imām Quli with other servants attacked Ḥusain Bēg and Qāẓi Ali. They took shelter in the Nāgar Nagar fort[127] meanwhile the rebels approached Mirza Yadgar; he readily accepted the offer and declared himself King in 1000/ July 1592.[128] Qāẓi Ali was killed and Ḥusain Beg escaped to Rajouri.[129] On hearing this, Akbar directed Sheikh Farid Bakhari, Mīr Murād, Khāwājā Fathulla and others to proceed on Kashmir. Sādiq Khān was despatched via punch.[130] The zamindārs of Punch and Punjab, peasants of surrounding areas and a contingen ahadis under Ali Akbar were directed to march against Yādgār Mirẓā.[131] He had left the passes unguarded[132] and the Mughal forces entered the territory without any resistence. When Yadgar Mirza learnt of the approach of the army he marched towards Herapura.[133] Sheikh Farid Bakhari posted himself at Herapora[134] Shahbaz Afghan and Sard Beg Turkaman attacked Mirza Yādgār in his

---

126. Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 204.
127. A.N., III, p. 619.
128. A.N., III, p. 618. Suka, Raja Tarangni, p. 415. According to Inshai-Abul-Fazl, p. 29, this incident took place in 31 R.Y. corresponding to 1586. It appears to be a clerical mistake.
129. Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 204b.
130. A.N.,III, p. 618.
131. A.N., III, pp. 618-20.
132. Ibid., p. 623.
133. Ibid. (ii) Gulshan-i-Balāgāt, ff. 50-1.
134. Gulshan-i-Balāgāt, ff. 50-1. Hastivanj of Suka, Raja Tarangni, p. 419. According to the same authorit Yādgār Mirẓā was killed by his own servants. Yādgār Mirzā was not brother of Yousf Khān Riẓvi but his cousin. A.N. III,p.617. Māsirul-Ūmara,III,p.316, R.K. Parmu, has wrongly mentioned that the author cal him nephew of Yousf Khān Riẓvi, A History of Mulim Rule in Kashmir, p. 292 n.

compound and beheaded him immediately.[135] When the incident was related to ʿĀdil Bēg, who was holding charge of the city, he escaped silently to the Deccan.[136] Moḥammad Quli Bēg showed the severed head of Yādgār Mirzā to Akbar at Bhimber.[137] The hand of the local zamindārs in the Yādgār rising was discernible,[138] therefore, Akbar thought of some stratagem to befriend them. So with a view to attacking them to the imperial Court through matrimonial relations the daughter of Shamsi Chak a powerful zamindār was married to Akbar and the daughters of Mubārak Khān and Ḥusain Chak were wedded to Prince Salim.[139] Some of the nobles also followed suit in marrying girls of Kashmiri nobility which did a lot in cementing bonds of affinity.[140] In spite of these efforts minor rebellions still continued. In 1596-97, an old person appeared in Shahabad pargana pretending to be ʿUmar Shaikh Mirzā, son of Mirzā Sulaiman. A large number of Kashmiris and about a thousand Badakhshis followed him, but Mohd Quli Khan, the then governor of the Subāh arrested him and sent him to the Court.[141] Another attempt was made by Shamas Chak in 1600 which was foiled immediately.[142]

---

135. A.N., III, pp. 623-4. Gulshan-i-Balāghat, ff. 50-1.
136. A.N., III, p. 624. Gulshan-i-Balāghat, ff. 50-1.
137. A.N., III, p. 623.
138. A.N., III, p. 626.
139. A.N., III, p. 626.
140. A.N., III, p. 626.
141. A.N., III, p. 723. Iqbal-Nama, II, p. 452.
142. A.N., III, p. 784.

On the other hand the Mughals followed a ruthless policy in putting down the rebels. In 1594, Hāji Moḥammad and Yousf Dār were exiled to India. During the same period Mohib ʿAli, the Foujdār of Dechan Khawara, killed a large number of Kashmiris near Mattan.[143]

Akbar's death did not put an end to the recalcitrant Kashmiri elements and the oppressive measures continued to weed out the anti-Mughal elements.[144] Mirzā Ali Akbar, the Governor, entraped Zaffar Khān and his followers through Qāzi Ṣāliḥ by promising them handsome rewards and mansabs.[145] They attended the Court of Ali Akbar Shāhi who got them imprisoned and ordered a general massacre of Chaks near Rainawāri. This hunt continued for a few days. Zaffar Khān, Ḥabīb Khan, ʿAli Khān, sons of Yousf Khān and Naurose Chak, were also murdered.[146] Their bodies were displayed for a couple of days and were at last disposed of by the residents when their rotten condition produced offensive smell.[147] The final blow to the insurgents was struck by I'taqad Khān in 1622,[148] who combed down the Chaks and freed himself for the remaining period from the rebels.

---

143. Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 205a.
144. Ibid., ff. 205-6b.
145. Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 208a.
146. Ibid.
147. Ibid., ff. 209a-210b.
148. Waqiāt-i-Kāshmir, p. 125.

*

FURTHER CONQUESTS AND EXPANSION

Perennial civil wars under the Sultans subsequent to the death of Zainul-ʿĀbedīn and foreign intervention had adversely affected the relations subsisting between Kashmir and the tributary states. The disintegration started earlier reached its climax during the Chak rule. After the Mughal annexation in 1586 the adjacent territories particularly Kashtwar and Tibet had become the refuge of defeated Kashmiris. These refractory nobles were a constant source of trouble to the Mughals. There was a constant threat to the Mughal rule in Kashmir. After the fall of the kingdom of Kashmir, the Mughals felt free to divert their attention make a bid to bring about the subjugation of the vasal states viz., Little Tibet, Greater Tibet, Kashtawār and Punch.

During his first visit in 1589, Akbar sent two envoys Mirzā Bēg and Mullā Ṯālib Asfahānī and Mehtar Yārī to Little and Greater Tibet respectively,[1] in order to persuade ʿAli Rai[2] of of Askardū[2a] not to extend help and assistance to the Chak rebels,

---

1. A.N., III, pp. 552, 569.
2. He was only a chieftain of the principality of Ladakh knownn as Askardu. He was called Ali Sher Khān and was successor of Gazi Mir. (i) Cunningham, Ladak, etc.pp. 30-34. Zanskar, Nūbra and Rukchu. The territory is bounded mountain range of Karakuram, tributaries of Indus and on the south-east by Lahul and Sipite now territory of Himāchāl Pradesh. Cunningham, Ladakh, etc. pp. 18-22. ((ii)) Hashmatullah Khān pp. 503-4. He was accepted as an overlord by the petty cheiftains of Shigar, Purik, Sūrū, and Drās, collectively called Little Tibet. Greater Tibet known Zanskar, Nūbra and Rukchu. The territory is bounded by mountain range of Karākura tributories of Indus and on the south-east by Lāhul and Sipiti now territory of Himachal Pradesh. Cunningham, Ladakh, etc. pp. 18-22.

2a Shakardu of Badshah Nama, Lahori, II, p. 282.

and probably to safeguard the northern frontier against any possible attack from Uzbeks. The Chieftains were asked to accept the Suzerainty of Akbar. In 1592, ʿAli Rai entered into a matrimonial alliance with the Mughals. His daughter was married to Prince Salim.[3] Yet he did not desist from coming to the succour of the Chaks.[4] In 1603, he came in person to help Iba Khān, son of Ḥusain Khān and Ẕafar Khān, but returned to his own territory without any encounter with the Mughals.[5]

ʿAli Shēr himself was following a policy of expansion in the region. In 1592, he attacked even the territory of Greater Tibet.[6] The ruler of Ladakh gave his daughter to ʿAli Shēr in marriage,[7] besides surrendering some

---

3. A.N., III, p. 603.

4. A.N., III, pp. 823-4. Iqbal Nama, II, pp. 497-8.

5. Ibid. According to Akbarnama and Iqbal Nama, Ali Rai was frightened on hearing the news of the arrival of Mughal contingents under Saifullah but according to Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 206, he was disgusted when he came to know about the mutual hatred of Kashmiri nobles.

6. A.N., III, pp. 823-24.
Majālisul-Mominin, p. 49. Iqbal-Nama, II, p. 454.

7. Frank, History of Western Tibet, p. 106.
Filippo-De-Fillipi, Antiquities of Western Tibet, etc pp. 44-6, 217.
A.N., III, p. 731, mentions that it was ʿAli Zād who attacked Leh. It appears to be a mistake for ʿAli Rai.

adjoining territory which was annexed with Askardū and Jamyan-Namgyal, the ruler of Ladakh, was allowed to retain his territory.[8] Ali Sher Khān had three sons, Ādam Khān, Abdāl and Aḥmad Khān.[9] During his life he assigned Parkota and Kartakhsha[10] to Abdal Khan. Adam Khan was appointed heirapparent and Rounda was assigned to Ahmad Khan. After the death of ʿAli Shēr Khan in 1622,[11] his sons fought for succession. Abdāl was triumphant and Ādām Khān escaped to India.[12]

It has been mentioned above that ʿAli Shēr Khān had a desire to bring the entire region under his sway. He annexed Rounda, Shigar, and the adjacent principalities. A fortress was also built by him on the confluence of the Gilgit rivers and Shyok.[13] The growing power of Abdāl Khān and his

---

8. According to A.N., III, p. 731, and Iqbal Nama, II, p.454, Kaliyum Kokaltash was the ruler of Ladakh who was defeated by Alizad and a relative of the deposed ruler was given the territory which is not supported by the Tibetan sources. (i) Franck, History of Western Tibet, p. 106. On the other hand Hashmatullah Khān, in his book, Tarikh Jamu wa Kashmir wa Riyasatha Maftuha, pp. 503-4, mentions on the basis of Shigar Nama, a contemporary History of Shigar that it was Gāzi Mir who was ruling Askardū and Ali Sher Khān Inchan (Ali Rai) was only heir apparent, but Cunningham, in Ladakh, etc., p. 30, states that Ali Sher Khān succeeded Gāzi Mir in 1590, IV Vigue, Travels, etc. p. 252.

9. Hashmatullah Khān, Tārikh-i-Jammu, etc. pp. 507-8.

10. Cunningham, Ladakh - Political, etc, pp. 19-20.

11. Ibid., p. 34.

12. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 98. Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jammu, etc. pp. 507-8.

13. Ibid., p. 505.

policy towards the Mughals was a sufficient cause for the Mughal intervention in this region. As a matter of fact the territory was never reduced to virtual submission.[14] But any further delay would be futile to the Mughal interests in Kashmir, particularly when Mughal relations with Safvids and Uzbeks were strained.[15]

With a view to avenging his defeat at the hand of Abdāl Khān, Ādam Khān sought the help of Shahjahan[16] who directed Zafar Khān to march against Abdāl Khān. In September 1638, Zafar Khān marched against Abdāl Khān at the head of 8000 soldiers.[17] Meanwhile Abdal Khan had garrisoned his newly built fortresses of Kechna and Kharpoche.[18] He left the fortress of Khechna under the charge of Mohammad Murād.[19]

---

14. Badshah Nama, Lahori, I, pp. 281-2.
Kambu, Amal-i-Sālih, II, p. 253.
Qqzvini, Shahjahan Nama, III, f. 413.

15. Since the fall of Qandahar, relations between Persia and India were strained. The Transoxiana developments were also alarming and as such, any further delay on the part of Shahjahan would have gone against the interests of the Mughals. For the details, see Athar Ali, 'Objectives Behind the Blakh and Badakhshān Expedition in 1643-4', Medieval India. A Miscellany, Vol.II, and B.P. Saksena, History of Shahjahan of Delhi, pp. 182-209, 210-236, 315.

16. Badshah Nama, II, p. 98.

17. IHQ, Vol. 8, pp. 171-95. Badshah Nama, I,pp.281-5.
Zafar Khān did not subdue Greater Tibet as put by Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 138.
Franck, Antiquities of Western Tibet,pp.109-10.
Badshah Nama, I, pp. 281-5. In Amal-i-Salih, I,p.255
Kechna has been wrongly mentioned as Gajnak.
Vigne, Travels, etc. Vol. II, p. 252.
Mohammad Murād was Vakil of Abdāl Khān
Badshah Nama, I, p. 282. Qazvini, III, f. 414.

On arrival at Askardu, Zafar Khān divided his army in three sections - under Kunwar Singh Kashtawāri and Mohammad Zamān a relative of Farhād Bēg Blooch, Husain Naik along with the zamindārs of Kashmir and the third group under his own command. Abdāl had left his family in fortress of Shigar under the care of his minor son.[20] Zafar Khān deputed a contingent under Mīr Fakhruddīn to attack the fortress of Shigar, which compelled Abdāl Khān to come out of impregnable fort of Kharpoche.[21] But he failed in his attempt and the Mughals carried on the operation according to their plan[22] under the able guidance of Ādam Khān.[23] But he made good his escape and left for Kāshgar leaving the rest of the family behind in the fort.[24] When Abdāl Khān came to know about the fall of the

---

20. The ruler of Shigar was Hasan Khān, son of Mohammad Khān. Mohammad Khān had twelve sons and Hasan Khan was the eldest son. He was defeated by Abdāl during an encounter and his younger brothers were killed. Hasan Khān sought shelter in Kashmir. Hashmatullah Khan, Tārikh-i-Jammu, etc.pp. 507-8. Cunningham is silent about this incident. According to his chronology, it was Ama Chand De, who ruled Shigar from 1605 to 1680, Ladakh - Political Physical etc. Badshah Nama, Lahori, II, pp. 282-3. Qazvini, III, f. 416.

21. Badshah Nama, Lahori, II, pp. 283.

22. Ibid., (ii) Qqzvini, Shahjahan Nama, III, f. 4~~15~~ 415

23. Ibid.

24. Badshah-Nama, Lahori, II, p. 283.
Amal-i-Sālih, II, p. 359.
Qazvini, III, f. 414.
All the three sources have not mentioned the name of his minor son.

fortress, he sued for peace through Shādmān Pakhliwāl.[25] He surrendered the fort on September, 1637, and the Khutbā was recitec in the name of the Emperor.[26]

The expedition culminated in success on account of the superiority of Mughal arms and superior strategy rather than treachery.[27] Zafar Khān brought Abdāl Khān along with his family to Kashmir.[28] A Thanedar was also appointed in Shigar[29] while the Mughals were advancing in Tibet, Abdal had deputed sons of Habib Chak and Ahmad Chak to create disturbances in Kashmir, so as to compel the Mughal to return, but they were not successful in this attempt.[30] Since the winter season was approaching and there was no way to return, so Zafar Khan had no alternative but to leave

---

25. Badshah Nama, II, p. 284. Shādmān Pakhlīwāl was son of Sultan Husain Pakhliwal. After his death Pakhli was assigned to Shādmān Pakhliwal in 1624, Tuzuk, p. 367.
26. Badshah Nama, II, p. 285. Qazvini, III, f. 415. The keys of the fort were handed over on 7th Rabi II, 1047, corresponding to September, 1637, and no 1634 as put by Hashmatullah Khan, Tārikh-i-Tammu-wa-Kashmir,etc p. 508.
27. Saksena, B.P., History of Shahjahan etc. pp. 113-4.
28. Badshah Nama, II, p. 285.
29. Hashmatullah Khān, Tārikh-i-Jammu-wa-Kashmir, etc. p. 613.
30. Kumbu, Amal-i-Salih, III, p. 262.

for Kashmir as soon as possible. He entrusted the territory to the vakil of Abdāl Khan.[31] Shahjahan did not ratify the treaty and Zafar Khān, on his arrival to Srinagar, was asked to attend the Court.[32] Adam Khan was appointed as Taīnāti in Kashmir with a mansab of 500/200[33] which was enhanced to 1000/400 in 1638[34] and Askardū was assigned to him in jāgir. In 1640 he was appointed Qiladar of the fortresses of Kharpōche and Khechnā.[35] Adam Khan died in 1656, and Askardu was assigned to Murād Khān, nephew of Adam Khan.[36] His rank was increased to 1000/1000 in 1074 A.H.[37] It may not be out of place to mention that Adam Khan was administering his jagir of Askardo as an absentee landlord from Srinagar through Mirzā Khān,[38] Mirzā, in the absence of his master, proclaimed independence. Ādam Khān marched against him with Mohammad Shafī and Ālim Beg who were sent to him in 1666-67.[39] Imām Quli Khān had already accepted the overlordship of the Mughals. Shigar was assigned to him in jāgir.[40] Thus the whole of Baltistan an Askardo were brought under the suzerainty of the Mughal Empire.[41]

31. Lahori, Badshah-Nama, II, p. 286. While Zafar Khan was coming back, he arrested all of them and brought them to Kashmir, Qazvini, III, p. 416.
32. Badshah-Nama, Lahori, I(II), p. 286. Amal-i-Salih, II, p. 262. Since the conclusion of any treaty with a warring chieftain appears to have been the prerogative of the Emperor only, and under these limitations the Subahdar was not entitled to enter into any such agreement.
33. Badshah-Nama, I (II), p. 286.
34. Ibid., II, p. 98.
35. Badshāh Nama, II, p. 98.
36. Badshāh-Nāmā, Waris, II, f. 359.
37. Mohammad Kāzim, Ālamgir-Nama, II, p. 860.
38. Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jammu-wa-Kashmir, pp. 514-17.
39. When Adam Khan regained control over his watan, a mosque was built in Askardo, and Khutba was recited in the name of Aurangzeb (i) Tarikh-i-Shahi Jahani-wa-Alamgiri, f. 133b. (ii) Bernier, Travels, etc. p. 402. (iii) Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jammu, etc. pp. 514-17.
40. Ibid., pp. 532-3.
41. Desideri, Travels, p. 117.

Relations with Great Tibet (Ladakh):

Ladakh was not a united territory under one rule right up to 1000 A.D. It was divided among various chieftains and towards the end of 10th Century it was consolidated into a single country.[1] Having a close relationship with central Tibet, Budhism made its headway and a number of monasteries sprang up. In the sixteenth century Lāchen dynasty was succeeded by Namgyal dynasty.[2] Namgyal reduced a number of principalities and a large area, previously under the control of Central Tibet.[3] He was succeeded by Jamyong - Namgyal in 1560.[4] During his reign (1560-90) a querrel took place between Khīr-Sultān of Dkartse and Purig Sultan of Chikla.[5] He came to the help of one of the chieftains while the other appealed to Alisher Khan for help which he readily accepted on account of his expansionist policy.[6]

---

1. Fillipo-de-Fillipi, Himalaya - Karakoram, etc.pp. 176-7.

2. Ibid. Based on the translation of Tibetan Sources translated by a German Scholar Karal Marx and published and denoted by Fillipo in the above book.

3. Franck - Antiquities of Tibet, p. 106, translation of a Tibetan Source La-Drasgs-Rgyal-RABS, spelt as Hjam-dbyans-rNam-rgyal.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., (ii) Cunningham, Ladakh - Political, etc. p.24.
   There is a variation so far as the spellings of various proper nouns are concerned. Cunningham has not followed the same principle of transliteration as has been adopted by Franck, Fillipo and Petech.

6. Cunningham, Ladakh - Political, etc. pp. 324-26.
   Hashmatullah Khān, Tarikh-i-Jammu-wa-Kashmir, etc. p. 697.

Jamyang Namgyal was defeated and Ladakh was over run by the Baltis.[7] In order to control Ladakh, ʿAlī Shēr Khān offered his daughter, Tara, to the son of Jamyangnamgyal.[8] After the death of ʿAli Shēr Khān, again the difference came to surface. Dal-dyn Namgyal wanted to avenge the previous defeat by his bid to vanquish the Sultan of Purīg.[9] He waged a war against Purig and other principalities. Sen-ge-Nam-rgyal had a resolute mind directed to annex these territories.[10] His powerful commander, Shkya-gyo-cho[11]

---

7. Ibid.
According to Cunningham, on the basis of Tibetan chronicles states the incident occured on account of the appointment of Slkya-gyo-cho as commander. His appointment was resented by Raspa or Raschen a Lama of Lahasa who had come to Ladakh to propagate the Red Sect Ladakh - etc., p. 177.

8. Cunningham, Ladakh - Political, etc. pp. 77 251.
Tara in Budhist tradition is considered to be incariation of the wives of the Tibetan King who introduced Budhism in Tibet, Fillipo-de-Filipi, p. 177.
Iqbal Nama, II, p. 454. She was known as Thi La Khatun or Zizi in Tibetan Sources. Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jammu-wa-Kashmir, etc. p. 697. She was accompanied by Akhūn Mohammad Sharif, who started the propagation of Islam in Suru and Kar'tse. But Tibetan Sources are silent about this.

9. Hashmatullah Khān, Tarikh-i-Jammu, etc. p. 697. During this period the said principalities were ruled by Hatim Khan, Baber and Yaqoob, who were the sons of the daughter of Shah Murad of Lahori Askardu.

10. Badshah Nama, II(I), pp. 159-60.
Petech, China & Tibet in early 18th Century, p.176.

11. Mohammad Kazim, Alamgir Nama, II, pp. 920-3.
Mohammad Sādiq Khān, Tarikh-i-Shāhjahani-wa-Alamgiri, f. 133b.
M.U., II, pp. 482-3.
Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jammu, etc. p. 312.

wanted to raise the prestige of Ladakh which was previously, infused by Sher ʿAli Khān. It appears the Mughal dependency of Little Tibet sought the help of the Mughals and Moḥammad Shafi and Mashoob Beg led a contingent in 1666-67. Ladakhis were defeated and a treaty was concluded. The ruler promised to contruct a mosque for the convenience of the Muslims. But accordi to the Tibetan Sources the Mughals were repulsed, leaving behind dead bodies and arms.[12] But we cannot brush aside the inscriptio of "Kache-Masjid" bearing the year 1077H/1666-7 for its foundation. But Schlagintweels mentions that the mosque was built in water-Tiger-Year (1602+12-1614) and completed in water-Horse-year (1602+52 = 1654). In support of his assertion he mentions an inscription found by him in Hemis Gompa.[13] The Mughal and Kashmir chronicles do not support his conjecture. The difference in the chronology appears to have been caused by lacunary Budhist manuscripts.[14] It appears that the Mughal expedition though

---

12. Petech, China and Tibet in 18th Century, p. 182. Franck, Antiquities of Western Tibet, II, pp. 146-7. The Chronicles of Ladakh, p. 108. (These sources are translated by Schlagemlweets.)

13. Franck, The Chronicles of Ladakh, p. 108.

14. In spite of the contruction of the mosque, Islam does not seem to have made any headway in Ladakh. Secondly, the Mughals were not able to control Ladakh even temporarily.

it was unsuccessful yet it did not bring any kind of territorial gain to the Mughals. However, an opportunity was provided to them in 1683-4, which paved the way for the Mughal conquest of Ladakh later on.

Dalai Lamas had supermacy over Lamaism since a pretty long time, but this power was religious but political power vested in the hands of the Mongols, who had a strong man in Guzri Khan. The Fifth Dalai Lama, Nag-dban-bho-bzon, through sheer diplomatic skill and the clever use of his political ocumen used Guzri Khan to raise his prestige.[15] The Namgyal dynasty had accepted the spiritual as well as political hedgemony of the Lahasa Lamasary.[16]

In 17th Century, during the reign of Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal, a Lama of the red-sect called Stag-tsang-raschen (Raspa) came to Ladakh.[17] His presence was resented to by the Dalai Lama and Dalās Khān as well.[18] It appears the ruler of Ladakh had also been influenced by his teachings, and the Mughal interference was also increasing in this region. So an army was sent under dGa-lDan-Ts'e-dBan-dPal-bznpo.[19] On his way to Ladakh he involved Kheri

---

15. Petech, IHQ, Vol. 8, pp. 8-9.

16. Ibid.

17. Fillipo-de-Filipi, Himalaya--Karakorum, etc. p. 177.

18. Dalās Khān was son and successor of Guzri Khan the temporal chief of Ladakh. Petech, IHQ, V. 23, 1947, III, p. 175.

19. dGa-Ldan-Tse-dban was the Lama of Tashilunpo Lamasary and first cousin of Guzri Khān. He was an able general and an administrator. After the death of Tāshi Lama in 1662, he was able to maintain law and order in the market of Tāshi Lunpo. Peteck, IHQ, Vol. 23, III, p. 182.

Singh, the chieftains of Bashāhār territory in this adventure. He was granted uninterrupted carvan facilities in the district of mNaris.[20] On account of the winter season he remained in the fortress of Bazgo.[21] After defeating Sakya-rgya-rgya-mtso near Tashigong.[22] However the further advance was checked. Ladakhis also took shelter in fortress of Tsaprang.[23] Meanwhile a fresh reinforcement of a contingent arrived from Lhasa to the help of the Tibetans which compelled Nam-rgyal to seek the help of the Mughals. He appealed Ibrāhim Khān, Ṣubehdār, of Kashmir, for his help against the Tibetans,[24] who had almost overrun the whole of Ladakh.[25] Although the Mughals had no intentions of expansion in this region but the presence of a powerful enemy was not to be tolerated on the cost of the defeat of Vasal Chieftains. So, an expeditionary force was formed in Kashmir with troops called from Kabul and local forces. The command was given to Fidāi Khān, son of Ibrāhim Khān in 1682-83.[26] The Mughals were joined by the

20. Ibid., p. 175.
21. Peleck, IHQ, Vol. 23, III, p. 182-3.
Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jammu, etc. p. 130.
22. Pelech, IHQ, 23, III, p. 178.
23. Tsaprang 79°-28' longitude and 31°-14' latitude was was the capital of district Gugne. According to Fillipo, the Ladakhis took shelter in the fortress of Temesgam. Himalaya - Karakoram, etc. p. 177.
24. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 175.
Manucci, II, p. 220.
Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, III, p. 21.
25. Pelech, IHQ, 23, III, p. 181-2.
26. Ma'asir-i-'Alamgir, (Sarkar), p. 144.
Fillipo-de-Fillipi, Himalaya - Karakoram, etc.p.176 -7.
Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, III, p. 21.

forces of Sakardo and the Ladakhi forces after crossing Zoji-La. The Tibetan and Qalmāqs were defeated and chased beyond Pitak and without any rest they left for Tāshigong.[27]

On the culmination of the war a treaty was concluded among Tibetans, Ladakhis and the Mughals.[28]

This war has a great importance in shaping the destiny of Western Himalayas. The boarders defined and demarcated by the Ladakhis and the Tibetans on the Northern side still continues to be the boundary of Jammu and Kashmir. Before this war the Mongols had supremacy over the Ladakhis but this war once for all decided the future of Ladakh. The ruler accepted Islam under the name of Aaqabat Mahmood Khan with a rank of 3000/2000. Ladakh was assigned to him in lieu of his submission.[29]

---

27. Petech, IHQ, 23, III, p. 184.
28. It has not been mentioned in the Tibetan Sources.
29. Akhbārāt, 43rd R.Y.
Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 175.
Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri, (Sarkar), p. 144
Hashmatullah Khān, Tarikh-i-Jammu, etc. pp.311-12.

Tibetan sources translated by Petech, Francke, Fillipo-de-Filipi and Karl Marx don't agree with the Mughal sources, so far as the conversion of the ruler is concerned. After this incident ~~the~~ Aqabāt Mahmood Khān continued construction of Mani walls and Lama saries. It appears the Tibetan sources have deliberately committed this mistake. See Akhbārāt 43rd year. The Mughal Governors did not allow the ruler of Ladakh, to revert to Budhism which is the conjecture of Petech, IHQ, Vol.23,III,p.193. In 43rd R.Y. of Aurangzeb Nalba-Namgyal who succeeded his father requested Aurangzeb to confer on him the title of Masood Khān with the same mansab of his father 3000/2000. Akhbārāt Rabi I, 43rd R.Y. His brother was given the mansab of 500/500. Ibid. It is also not borne out by facts that the Mughals had not any territorial claim on Ladakh. A.N.,III,p.731.The revenue records of subsequent period include Greater Tibet as a Sarkar of Ṣuba Kashmir, Desideri also supports our inference. Desideri, Travels, p. 72.

Relation with Khashtawār

Kashtawār state is situated in the interior of the Himalayas bounded by Ladakh in the North, Pādar and Chamb in the east, Bhadrawah on the south and Kashmir on the west, extending from Nāgsun to Rāmban. It consisted of Kashtāwar, Nagsun, Sartali Surur, Bhoujwah Dachin and Marū-wardwan, Udil, Kontawara, and Dodasaraj.[1] Since early times Kashtawar was a tributary of Kashmir and allied with the Kashmiri Sultans by matrimonial alliances.[2]

During 1584-1622, the rulers of Kashtawar provided shelter to the defeated Chak nobles. Support and active help of Kashtawaris encouraged the opponents to create trouble in Kashmir. During the first Mughal expedition on 1586, Yaqoob Chaks played havoc in the lines of Mughal force with the help of Kashtawar.[3]

Raja Gunwar Sen extended his full assistance to Lohar Chak and Iba Chak.

---

1. Hutichson, History of the Punjab Hill States, II, p. 638, has included Banihal paraganah with Kashtawar, which is not correct. Banihāl was also always ruled from Kashmir even before the Mughal annexation, (ii) Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, pp. 18, 209, and continued to be a paraganah of the Mughal Subāh of Kashmir, A.N. (Bloch), p. 835.
(iii) Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, p. 204.
(iv) Forster, Travels, I, p. 349.
(v) Vigue, Travels, I, p. 204.
2. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, pp. 208-9.
3. Tuzuk, p. 294.

Akbar could not divert his attention towards the territory, because his hands were full elsehwere.[4] But the continuous interference on the part of the Chaks, compelled the Mughals to adopt an expansionist policy in this direction.

In 1617-18, Aḥmad Bēg Khān was appointed Subehdar of Kashmir on the condition that he would carry on the Kashtawar expedition, but on account of his failure he was transferred in 1619.[5] He was succeeded by Dilāwar Khān. He promised to annex Kashtawār within two years.[6] In order to carry on his project, he sought the help of Malik Ḥaidar and Malik ʿĀli.[7] Malik ʿĀli

4. In order to destroy the hiding place of Chaks Mohammad Quli Khān launched an attack in 1604 via Maru-wardwan valley. But could not succeed in his attempt, however, the Raja assured a regular tribute; but this was never carried on till his defeat in 1622.; A.N., III, p. 523. (ii) Iqbal Nama, II, pp.506-7 (iii) Hutichson, History of the Punjab Hill states, p. 649. According to him this was launched in 16½6 which is not correct, because Mohammad Quli Khan was transferred and Mirza Ali Akbar Shāhi was appointed Subehdar of Kashmir in 1605 A.D., Tuzuk, pp.11.

5. Tuzuk, p. 294.
Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 214a.
Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p. 282.

6. Tuzuk, pp. 225, 294. Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, ff. 214a, 216a-b.

7. Iqbal Nama, II, p. 561.
Kamgar Husain, Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri, pp. 127-8.
Malik Ḥaidar the author of Tarikh-i-Kashmir, was a noble of Yousf Shah Chak. He was given the Zamindari of his residential pargana Chadoora by Jahangir and the title of Raisul Mulk and Chugtāi' was also confered on him. Malik Āli was his brother an architect engineer. Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 214-15.

a or b?

was fully acquainted with the routes leading to Kashtawār. Dilāwar Khān led the expedition personally. The attack was launched via Sanginpura and after a tough fighting the raja was defeated and captured by the men of Dilāwar Khān in 1622.[8] Dilāwar Khān left for Kashmir leaving behind Naṣrullāh ʿArab in-charge of the newly acquired territory.[9] Raja Gunwar Sen was brought to the presence of Jahangir at Baramulla.[10] In reward of his services Dilāwar Khān was given the revenue of Kashtawār in Ina'm.[11] Since Gunwar Sen declined to surrender his sons as hostage, he was deplored to Gwalior prison where he remained for two years.[12]

---

8. Tuzuk, p. 296.
   Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 220a.
   For the details, see Beni Parsad, History of Jahangir, pp. 282-84, and Parmu, R.K., A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, pp. 303

9. Tuzuk, p. 296.
   According to Raja Darshani, f. 185, Kashtawar assigned to Raja Sangram of Jamu, is not supported by any other source. R.K. Parmu, in A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, p. 308, gives his name as Nazrullah Arab is not correct.
   See Tuzuk, p. 303.

10. Ibid, p. 303.
    Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 230a.
    The name of Raja was Gunwar Sen and not Gore Sen or Gosir Singh. Hutichson, History of Punjab Hill States, p. 650. Beni Prasad and R.K. Parmu have not mentioned his name at all. Hashmatullah Khan, Tārikh-i-Jammu, etc. pp. 156-7.

11. Tuzuk, p. 303.

12. Iqbal Nama, III, p. 580.
    Tuzuk, p. 347.
    Kewal Ram, Tazkiratul-Umara, f. 228.

Consequent upon the departure of the Mughal ~~on~~ forces the Kashtawārīs revolted in 1623 on account of the harsh and oppressive attitude of Naṣrullāh ʿArab and his men.[13] Jahangir appointed Jallāl to put down the insurrection,[14] but he did not succeed in his attempt and Irādaṭ Khān was directdd to subdue the uprising.[15] Raja Sangram Singh was also ordered to help Irādaṭ Khān.[16]

The revolt was put down and Thānās were established with large garrisons adequately provisioned. Meanwhile Gunwar Sen was released from the Gawalior fort in 1624 and Kashtawār was assigned to him as Watan Jāgir.[17]

---

13. Tuzuk, p. 312.
14. Jallāl was elder son of Dilāwar Khān. He led a contingent along with his father in 1621 to Kashtawar. He was granted a mansab 1000/600. He was not appointe as Ṣubehdār of Kashmir as put by Abdul Rahim, JPHS, Vol. 7, 1959, Tuzuk, p. 312, Kamgar Husain, Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, ff. 140-8.
15. Tuzuk, pp. 312-13, on the death of Dilawar Khan, Iradat Khan was appointed as Subehdar in 1622.
16. Tuzuk, p. 313.
17. Tuzuk, p. 347. Iqbal Nama, III, p. 580.

Gunwar Sen was son of Partab Sen. He succeeded his father in 1618-19. (Hashmatullah Khan, p. 156). He was granted a mansab of 1000/400 Badshah Nama, Lahori, II, p. 311. His daughter was married to Prince Shuja Badshah Nama, II, p. 434-5, Kewal Ram, Tazkiratul Umara, f. 228. After his death in 1649, he was succeeded by his Maha Singh and tika was confered by Shahjahan. A rank of 800/400 was also granted to him Waris, Badshah Nama, I, f. 67. (ii) Kewal Ram, Tazkira-tul-Umara, f. 228.
According to Hutichson, History of Punjab Hill States, II, p. 651, Gunwar Sen was succeeded by Jagat Singh which is not correct. See Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i Jammu, etc. pp. 161-62, also. Dabistan-i-Mazahib, p. 173.

In 1662-63, Saif Khān, the Ṣubehdār of Kashmir, sent an official to collect the annual peshkash from Rājā Mahā Singh, he was reluctant to pay the tribute.[18] When Aurangzeb came to know the intention of the Raja, he directed Mohammad Amin Khān, Subehdār of Lāhor, to caution the Rājā of the dire consequences of his rebellious attitude.[19] It appears that the Raja had submitted to the imperial behest and his son had joined the imperial service & served in the Deccan in 1682-83.[20]

Mahā Singh was succeeded by Jaya Singh. He bore a hostile attitude towards the Muslim,[21] on account of the activities of Shah Farid-ud-Dīn Qādiri.[22] Meanwhile, Raja Jayā Singh came under the influence of the saint and accepted Islam under the name of Bakhtiyār Khān.[23] On account of his earlier attitude towards Muslims and his enemosity with his brother,

---

18. Akhbārāt, 13th R.Y.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid. 24th R.Y.
21. Hutichson, History of the Punjab Hill States, II, p. 654.
    Hashmatullah Khān, p. 166.
22. Rouzatul Arifin, f. 10b. See Chapter VII for the life of the Saint and his activities in Kashtawār.
    Hutichson, History of the Punjab Hill States, II, p. 654.
23. Rouzatul ʿĀrifin, f. 10b.
    Hashmatullah Khān, p. 167.

Sardār Singh, the Emperor Aurangzeb was not happy with him. In order to neutralise the efforts of Sardār Singh, he sent his son, Kirat Singh as his Vakil to the Court.[24] He succeeded Bakhtiyār Khān in 1681.[25] Rām Singh, uncle of Kirat Singh, had no cordial relations with him. He complained against his atrocities done to the Muslims.[26] On this complaint, Qāẓi Abul Qāsim was appointed as Qāẓi of Kashtawār by Aurangzeb. He was directed to pursue Rājā Kirat Singh to attend the Court or face the imperial wrath.[27] Kiraṭ Singh bowed before the imperial will and entered into an agreement promising the safety of Muslims and help to develop a congenial atmosphere for the propagation of Islām.[28] But soon after the departure of Qāẓi, there was a revolt against the imperial rule, a large number of Muslims were killed and many more expelled from Kashtawār. Innayi-tullāh Khān took shelter in the khanqāh of Shah Farīd. When these reports reached Kashmir, an army was despatched to put down the rebellion. Rājā Kirat Singh promised to concede the Mughal demands. Subsequently entered the Islam under the influence of Shah Farid, and assumed the name of

---

24. Hashmatullah Khān, p. 167.
25. Hutichson, <u>History of the Punjab Hill States</u>, II, Pp. 654-5.
26. The conversion of Jayā Singh was staunchly opposed by the high cast Brahman. Later on he was killed by Krishin Padyar a high cast Hindu, Hutichson, p. 654. Raja Kirat Singh on account of this situation banned Muslims in Kashtawār.
27. Hashmatullah Khān, pp. 170-71.
28. The copy of the agreement has been preserved by Hashmatullah Khān in his book, <u>Tarikh-i-Jammu -wa-Kashmir</u>, etc. pp. 170-71.

Sa'ādat Yār Khān.[29]

Henceforth, Kashtawār remained under the Mughal control as part of the Ṣubāh of Kashmir.[30]

Rajouri

Rajouri comprised valley Munawwar Tawi and its tributaries. It is situated to the south of Pir Panjal range dividing it from the valley of Kashmir. On the west, it is bounded by Punch and Kotli, on the south by Bhimber and in the east by the river e Chinab. It remained throughout our period within the Ṣubāh of Kashmir.[31]

A fort was built by Akbar during his first visit to Noushahra, a principality of Paraganah Rajouri.[32]

The principality was assigned to Rājā Ḥayāt Khān in watan jagir, and under Shahjahan the family entered in matrimonial relations,[33] with the Mughals.

---

29. Rouzatul-'Ārifin, f. 15a. According to Hashmatullah Khan, p. 164, Kirat Singh accepted Islam in 1662, during Aurangzeb's visit to Kashmir, which is not correct. He succeeded his father in 1681.

30. Akhbārat, 43rd R.Y.

31. A.N., III, pp. 539-40. Badshah Nama, Lahori, II, p. 17. Amal-i-Salih, II, p. 16. Badshah Nama, Qazvini, III, ff. 310a-b. The border of Kashmir and the Punjab was lies in between Rajouri and Noushahra, See A.N., III, 539-40, and above sources. Dasturul Amal-i-Shahjahani, 675/73 A.S. Collection, f.7, Hutichson, History of the Punjab Hill States, p.688.

32. Tuzuk, p. 317.
Badshah Nama, Lahori, II, p. 17.
See Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 142-149, also.

33. 'Amal-i-Sālih, II, p. 391.

Pakhli

The whole territory lying between Kashmir in the east and the Indus in the West, including the lower valley of Kishanganga and those of its tributaries.[34] On the south it is surrounded by the Gakhar territory.[35]

During the Sultanate period, it was a tributary of Kashmir but after the fall of Kashmir in 1586, it became a separate Sarkar of Subah of Kabul.[36] Later on it was included in the Subah of Kashmir.[37] In 1589, Akbar assigned Pakhli as watan jagir to Sultan Husain. He promised to pay a regular peshkash but on account of enhancement of revenue, he rebelled,[38] but Akbar assigned Pakhli to Husain Bēg Sheikh ʿUmari in jagir.[39] While taking over the charge of the new jāgir, Hindal, son of Sultan Ḥusain, proclaimed himself Sultan Naṣeer.[40] Due to meagre resources he could not resist the imperial pressure.[41] But the

34. A'in, II, p. 186 (N.K.), See Jarrets translation also, pp. 347, 390.
Kamgar Husain, Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri, ff. 125-26.
A.N., III, p. 577.

35. A'in, II, p. 186 (N.K.). Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, II, p. 559.

36. A'in, II, p. 186.

37. Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Shahjahani, 675/73, f. 7.
Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 273.

38. A.N.,III, p. 577.

39. A.N., III, p. 577.

40. A.N., III, p. 577.
Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, II, p. 412.

41. A.N.,III, p. 577.
Iqbal Nama, II, p. 412.

following year Pakhli was restored to Sultan Ḥusain.[42] Jahangir increased his manṣab to 600/300 in 1620.[43] He died in 1624 and the zamindari of Pakhli was given to Shādmān Pakhliwal.[44]

Punch:

The territory comprised the valleys of river Tōhi and its tributaries. It was known as Lohrā.[45] It had always been a dependancy of Kashmir.[46] During the Chak rule Lohrā, became independent.[47]

It appears that during the first Mughal expedition in 1584, Punch accepted the overlordship of the Mughals. In 1618-19, there was a revolt in Punch which was suppressed by Malik ʿAli and Malik Ḥaidar along with the Ṣubehdār of Kashmir in 1620.[48] There were some other minor principalities near the mountainous regions which were reduced to submission and annexed to the Ṣubāh of Kashmir. During the Mughal rule the boundaries of the Subah of Kashmir extended in all directions. (During this

---

42. A.N., III, p. 578.
43. Tuzuk, p. 291.
44. Tuzuk, p. 367.
45. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 19.
46. Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, ff. 50-51.
Hasan, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, III, f. 95b.
47. Ibid.
48. Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 216a.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 124.
Hasan, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, III, f. 95b.

period the border with Central Tibet was demarcated. In this period and the following principalities were added to form part of Subah of Kashmir: Ladakh, Baltistān, Gilgit, Sarshāl, Damyāl, Damtūr, Pakhlī, Noushahra, Rajouri, and Punch.[49]

---

49. Narain Koul Ājiz, Mukhtasar-Tawārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 192a.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 272-4.
Dastūrul Amal-i-Shahjahani, f. 132b.

*

CHAPTER II

LAND REVENUE SYSTEM

I Extent of Agriculture

In the absence of statistical information, it is difficult to work out the actual area under cultivation during the period, particularly in the mountainous regions like Little Tibet, Greater Tibet, Punch, Kashṭawār etc. But with the aid of modern methodology of statistics, we can roughly estimate the extent of the land brought under plough in the valley.

Land Revenue was the main source of income[1] and as such administration was keen enough in expanding the agricultural operation.[2] The officials were repeatedly directed to keep a close watch over the tenants and look after their interests by advancing taqāvī loans, seeds, and provide such other facilities lest they should abandon land and turn it into u'fṭāda.[3]

The downfall of Shah Mir dynasty was followed by chaos and confusion, which led the kingdom to complete distintegration. Mughal intervention and sectarian fights further deteriorated the agrarian situation. Uninterrupted

---

1. Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, p. 31; (ii) Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, etc. pp. 90-91.

2. A'in, f. 166, (ii) Lahori, Badhshah Nama, II, pp.309-10, Farhangi Kardani, f. 36. (iii) Aurangzeb's firman to Mohamad Hāshim Karori, and Rasikdās, (iv) Gulshani Dastur, ff. 524, 535.

3. Ibid.

warfare after the annexation turned the fields into battle grounds, which compelled the tenants to abandon the land, and there was drastic decrease in the produce of the land.[4]

The economic exploitation at the hands of the newly introduced jagirdars and the oppressive role of the occupation army paved the way to ruin of peasants and thus the agrarian achievements of Zainulābidīn were nullified.[5] Nevertheless, this situation did not lost long. Land Revenue and administrative reforms of Akbar began to bring forth the result in the subsequent years.[6] The peasants returned to recultivate their abandoned land. The policy of pacification introduced by Akbar[7] was strengthened by Jahangir[8] and strictly followed by Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb.[9] The outcome of such policy was the increase in the population.[10] Thus the constant

---

4. A.N.III; p. 626, (ii) St. Xavier, JRASB, Vol. 23, 1927, pp. 115-16.

5. Ibid.

6. Malik Haidar, ff. 213ab, (ii) Baharistani Shahi, 211a, 212 a-b.

7. Suka Pandith, pp. 420-21, (ii) A'in, II, (N.K.), p. 176, (iii) A.N. III, p. 548, (iv) Narain Koul Ajiz, Mukhtasar Tawarikh-i Kashmir, f. 103a.

8. Baharistani Shahi, ff. 211-212b, (ii) Malik Haidar, ff. 213a-b.

9. Waqiati Kashmir, pp. 195-96.

10. Desideri, The travels etc, pp. 72, 351.
Waqiat-i-Kashmir, pp. 8, 172-3.
Forster, Journey From England to India etc, II, p.
Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 107a.

increase in the population might have effected the agricultural land, as the increase or the decrease in the population is a factor for the determination of the extent of agriculture.[11] But here again, we do not possess any census record of our time, as the very concept of census was not in the minds of our authorities.[12] Therefore, we have the difficulty in determining the population. The population given by Hasan appears to be exaggerated, no doubt there was mass scale oppression under the Sikh rule,[13] but ~~such~~ decrease in population to such an extent does not appear to be logical. But in the light of other contemporary evidences we can infer the population during the Mughal period was much more than it was during the modern period.[14] We cannot easily brush aside the statements made the contemporary authorities about the density of population.[15] Another factor which will be helpful to us in determining the extent of population. Since the annexation in 1586, new expedition in all directions continued, and as such there was a constant variation in the number of villages.

---

11. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System etc, pp. 1&2.
12. Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, p. 10. According to Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 107a, the population of Kashmir in the reign of Jahangir was 19,43,033, including the standing army, which is much more than that of 1901 census record. According to Lawrence, Valley of Kashmir, p. 226, the total population was 8,14,241 in 1890-91.
13. Moorcraft & Trebeck, Travels in Hindustan, II, pp. 293-307
14. Forster, Journey from England etc., II. p. Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 108b.
15. A.N. III, p.543, (ii) St Xavier, JRASB, Vol.23, pp.115-16, (iii) Amali Salih, II, p. 30, (iv) Bernier, pp.456-57, (v) Desideri, p. 351.

According to Narain Koul 'Ajiz, there were 5896 villages in the suba.[16] Mohammad Azam has supported this statement with a slight variation.[17] But according to an accountancy manual of 17th century, there were only 5352 villages all unmeasured,[18] which is in accord with the census figures conducted in 1901.[19] But some earlier sources have recorded highly exaggerated number of villages, existing in early medieval period.[20] Such an inflated number of villages could not have existed despite the fertility of the land. Abul Faiz Faizi has mentioned that there was not a single piece of land which was not brought under plough. Three-fourth of the entire land of the suba was mountainous, and the rest one-fourth was brought under plough and orchards.[21]

---

16. Narain Koul Ajiz, Mukhtasar Tawarikh-i-Kashmir, f.107a

17. Mohammad Azam, Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 273.

    There is a variation in various editions of the same manuscripts. The total number of villages of Maruwarduan, Banihal, Punch, Rajouri and Noushahra was 3270. The number of villages in 12 mahals of Tibet and 5 mahals of Kamlak and Kahal was not known to the author.

18. Fraser, 86, f. 3.

    (ii) Rai Chatar Mal, Chahar Gulshan, translated by J.N. Sarkar in India of Aurangzeb, pp. 131-32.

19. Census Report, 1901. (ii) Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p. 18.

20. According to Zafar Nama, there were 1,00,000 villages in the kingdom of Kashmir, (Tarikh-i-Rashidi, p. 429) puts the number at 70,000.

    Dr Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, pp. 251-52, has inferred on the basis of above evidences that there would have been in between 70,000 and 60,000 villages during the Mughal period, which cannot be accepted.

21. Faizi, Akbar Nama, f. 241a.

On the basis of revenue returns in the *A'in*, we can safely infer that the area lying in between Kuknagir to Ferozpura and Hirapura to Baramulla was mostly brought under plough.[22] Abdul Hamid Lahori and Waris give us a detailed account of the pastoral areas and health resorts, in the valley. On the basis of this information, we can infer that more than $\frac{3}{4}$th of the cultivable land in the Sarkar Kashmir was brought under plough and more and more *ǘftada* and *banjar* land appears to have been brought under cultivation of cereals, fruit and vegetables. However, we cannot brush aside the information provided in an administrative manual of 1755c. The tenants very often abandoned their ancestral land[23] because of the exploitation of jagirdars and the revenue officials,[24] and brought *ǘftada* land under cultivation, lying in jurisdiction of other jagirdars. Therefore, we can accept Faiẓi's statement with certain reservations.

---

22. We have paraganah-wise statistical information about the land revenue which was realized in kind at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ *A'in*, II, 175-77 (N.K.). These returns support our inference. See *Amal-i-Salih*, II, pp. 18-25 also. See Appendix "A."

23. *Gulshan-i-Dastur*, ff. 524, 528-830, and 534.

24. *Akhbarat* 39 R.Y. (ii) *Gulshan-i-Dastur*, f. 534.

Means of Irrigation

Due to geographical formation of various regions, the canal irrigation was the main source of irrigation. In spite of natural barriers hampering the expansion of trade and commerce, the mountains were store houses of water. As a matter of fact the valley of Kashmir is a gift of the Himalayas. The Jehlum, and its tributories in the valley, Kishna ganga in Pakhlī, the Shayōk and the Indus and their tributories in Ladākh and Baltistān, Chināb, Tohi, Chandarbāghā and a network of streams and rivulets provided water to the fields of the Suba. But the table lands or Karewas were mainly dependent on rains.[1] The construction of canals had received a great impetus during the reign of Sultan Zainulābidīn[2] but the Mughals did not pay much attention towards the canal-building. However, some old canals were repaired and only a few new canals were built to irrigate the pleasure gardens rather than agricultural land. But care was taken ~~farms are on record~~ not to spare the surrounding lands from the benefit of such irrigation works.

During the reign of Akbar, Yousf Khan Rizvi built a canal connecting stream known as Nullah Sindh with Baghi-Ilahi.[3] Under Jahangir, some old canals like Lachama Kul, were repaired under the supervision of Malik Haidar, and Harvan canal was laid out for watering Nur Afza Bagh at the

---

1. Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, ff. 37-40, and 41a.
2. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 86.
3. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 28.

cost of 30,000 rupees.[4] Under Shahjahān, a branch of the Shah Nahar was taken to Nishat Bagh by Asaf Khan. The Altamga grant fArman to Asaf Khan laid down the condition that watering to the garden should not cause hardship to the tenants by reducing their irrigation facilities.[5]

Original territory may be reduced

Another source of irrigation in the valley consisted of the springs. Most of the interior land beneath the Karewas or in the foot hills was irrigated by the spring water.[6] Great distress was caused in cases of scarcity and low supply of water in the springs.[7] But the spring water was not considered suitable for irrigation on account of the properties.[8] Vegitable gardens were watered from deep wells, dug out in the vicinities of these orchards.[9] Tanks were probably not built for the purpose of irrigation. The use of Persian wheel was not in vogue.[10]

---

4. Tuzuk, p. 347, (ii) Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, p. 230b.

5. Copy of fArman has been preserved in the Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 115.

6. A'in, II, pp. 172-73 (N.K.), (ii) Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, ff. 232-34b.

7. A'in, II, pp. 172-3, (ii) Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, ff. 232-34.

8. Laurence, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 324.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

The table lands depended mainly on rains,[11] and in due course of time these karewās were brought under orchards.[12]

---

a/b ?

11. Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 40.

12. Ibid.

Methods of Production and Crops

Hardly any substantial change has taken place in the methods of cultivation since the Mughal rule. The peasants' implements were the plough, with an iron plough share,[1] a wooden mallet for clod breaking, wooden spade with an iron tip, kreel for carrying manure[2] and hoe.[3]

The crops were divided into two broad groups, the rabī and kharīf.

Barley, wheat, rape, mustard, cotton, grams, beans, linseed, lentils were rabī crops; rice, pulses, waterchestnuts, maize and saffron were kharīf crops.[4]

Rice was the principal crop cultivated extensively throughout the valley,[5] and its production was carried in Kashṭawār, Rajouri, Pakhlī and some areas of Punch.[6] There were so many varieties of rice existing during our period.[7] More than sixty lakh kharwars of rice were produced approximately.[8]

---

1. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, pp. 24-25. (ii) Lawrence, Valley of Kashmir, p. 324.
2. Laurance, Valley of Kashmir, pp. 324-25.
3. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 1.
4. Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 345a.
5. A'in, II, (N.K.) p. 172, (ii) Tuzuk, p. 296
6. Ibid.
7. RPD No. 33, a revenue document Srinagar date 1190.
8. A'in, II, 175-76. State Share appropriated at the rate of one half was about 30 lakh kharwārs.

Rice of Rajouri was superior to that of Kashmir.[9] Wheat production was extensive in Kashṭawār, Punch and other hilly regions.[10] Shahabad paragana of Kashmir Sarkar was famous for its superior quality of wheat.[11] But the grain of the wheat in the valley was smaller and inferior to the wheat cultivated in the plains.[12] A little production of wheat was carried in Little Tibet but barley and grim were the main agricultural produce.[13] Barley was produced in Kashṭawār and Pakhli[14] and introduced into the valley perhaps during our period.[15] Grams were not produced in the valley because of unfavourable soil and climate.[16]

---

9. A'in, I, (N.K.) p. 34.

10. Tuzuk, pp. 294, 296.

11. Vigue, G.T.; Travels etc., I, p. 324.

12. A'in, II, (N.K.), p. 170, (ii) Tuzuk, p. 300, (iii) Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, pp. 36-37, says wheat was not raised altogether in the Suba of Kashmir is not born out by facts. See A.N. III, p. 526-27.

13. Badshah Nama, II, p. 287, (ii) Desideri, Travels etc., pp. 78, 325.

14. Tuzuk, p. 296.

15. Gulshan Dastūr, f. 345a. There is a contradiction in A'in, II, p. 170, and A.N. III, pp. 548-49, about the barley cultivation. It appears that a little barley was raised in the valley. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 78, also that there was no barley cultivation during our period, but Laurance, Valley of Kashmir, p. 341, holds a contrary view point. According to him, it was extensively cultivated in the valley during 19th century, but not as an important crop

16. A'in, II, (N.K.), p. 170, (ii) Tuzuk, p. 300, (iii) Gulshan-i-Dastur, ff. 343a-345b.

Millets buckwheat, and various kinds of pulses were produced in Little and Greater Tibet.[17]

Pulses of various varieties, amaranth, sesame, rape, linseed and flax were also cultivated in the Karāwās of Kashmir.[18] Tobacco cultivation appears to have been introduced in the 18th century.[19] Wild hemp grew on the river banks and ravines.[20] Cotton cultivation was not so extensive.[21] Motah, and beans,[22] maize[23] and kangni or shole (selaria italica) were mainly cultivated around the banks. China (panicum miliaccum) was raised in the Lār defile and around the wular lake.[24] Water Chestnut was extensively found in the lakes. It constituted the main food of thousands of people living around the lakes.[25] The hanjīs collected singhārā in specially designed boats and the contractors purchased the nuts and transported them to Srinagar for disposal.[26]

---

17. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 287, (ii) Desideri,
18. Travels etc., pp. 78, 325, (iii) Moorcraft, Travels in Ladakh etc., I, pp. 275-77.

18. A.N. III, pp. 548-9, (ii) Gulshani-Dastūr, f. 345, (iii) Lawrance, Valley of Kashmir, p. 330.

19. Forster, From Bengal to England, II, p. 7, (ii) Vigue, Travels, I, p. 324, (iii) Lawrance, Valley of Kashmir, p. 330.

20. Tuzuk, p. 312.

21. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 185.

22. A.N., III, pp. 548-49.

23. Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 345a, (ii) Lawrance, Valley of Kashmir, p. 330.

24. A.N., III, pp. 548-49.

25. Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 345a, (ii) Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 63.

26. Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 307b.

Of all the important cash crops, saffron, famous for its bouquet and medincenal properties; was extensively cultivated in Pampur[27] and Andarkot.[28] Its cultivation extended for about 12000 bighas in Pampur and over a tract of land approximately one Cos in Andarkot.[29]

Outside the valley of Kashmir, it was cultivated in Kashtawar also.[30] The saffron of Kashṭwār was considered superior to the variety of Pampūr.[31] Under favourable climati conditions the production exceeded 500 maunds.[32]

---

27. A'in, II, (N.K.), p. 172, (ii) A.N., III, pp.648, 727. In various manuscripts the name of the village Pampur has been written as Patanpur, Panure etc. It is modern Pampur and ancient Padampur. A'in, II (Jarret), p. 390.

28. A'ndar Kot a village Paragana Paraspore, A'in, II (N.K.), p. 172; Jarrett, II, p. 395, has spelt it as Indarkot. The ancient name of the village was Indarkol, which remained capital of Kashmir also. A'in, II, Jarret, p. 395.

29. A.N., III, pp. 648, 727. (ii) A'in, II (N.K.); p. 172, on page 63 of the same edition, it is 12 Kros only. In another manuscript it is stated that cultivation spread over an area of 12000 kos, which appears to be a clerical mistake. Shiefta-Collection, I, ff. 36-37. A latter source of 18th century, Khulasatu Tawarikh, Sajan Rai Bhandari, pp.80-81 also has committed the same mistake. See Lawrance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 343.

30. Tuzuk, pp. 45, 296.

31. Tuzuk, p. 296.

32. A.N. III, p. 648,
(ii) Tuzuk, p. 315,
(iii) Iqbal Nama-Jahanqiri, III, p. 571.

Under the Mughals a large area was brought under the cultivation of saffron.[33]

The method of saffron cultivation was more complicated and quite different from that of crops dependent on rains. The bulbs were protected from the constant rains during the winter and slopy ground was selected for such purpose.[34] The bulbs (seeds) were planted in the pulverised soil.[35] But the use of any kind of manure was strictly avoided.[36] The land was left uncultivated for a period of five to six years to regain the fertility. The fields were divided into beds and the seeds were sown in the month of July and August within a month the seeds germinated and in the month of October and November bringforth flowers. Each bulb flowered for a period of six years continuously.[37] The flowers were collected by the tenants and latter the petals were separated from the stigmata.[38] The orange red tip of the stigmata was

---

33. A.N. III, p. 648. The production in the year 1002H/1593 increased to 90,000 traks which appears to be a highly exaggerated quantity. According to Tuzuk, p. 315, and Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, p. 567, the production was about 500 maunds. During the Dogra period about 132 acres of saffron land was brought under cultivation, Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 342.

34. A'in, I, pp. 62-63 (N.K.)

35. Ibid.

36. Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 342.

37. A'in, I, p. 64 (N.K.)

38. Ibid.

called Shahi Za'fran.[39] Out of eleven trakhs of mixed flowers, two seers of pure dried saffron was obtained.[40]

Sugar-cane cultivation though introduced by Sultan Zainulābidīn probably languished in the Mughal period.[41]

Vegitables:

Vegetable growth was extensive and varied all over the Subah but it was more profuse in the valley. The famous vegitable gardens were located around the city of Srinagar on the banks of the Dal lake.[42] The famous floating gardens of the Dal were always full of various kinds of vegitables.[43] Almost every tenant had a plot reserved for vegetable cultivation.[45]

---

39. Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 432a
(ii) Lawrance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 342.

40. A'in, I, (N.K.),pp. 62-63.
(ii) Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, III, p. 571.

41. Shrivara, Jaina Raja Tarangni, (Tr. by R.C. Dutt), p. 335

42. Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 233.
(ii) Qazvini, Badshah Nama, III, p. 315a.
(iii) Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 64.

43. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 29., Jonaraj- Raja Tarangni (tr. R.C. Dutt), p. 97.

44. A'in, II, (N.K.), p. 173.

45. Qazvini, Badshah Nama, III, f. 315a.
(ii) Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 330.

Qualitatively and quantitatively rich vegetables like beans, knol kohl, turnips, radish, spinch, carrots, pumpkins, white beans, cucumbers and onions were mainly produced.[46] Sāg and boiled rice was the staple food of the Kashmiris. Potatoes were introduced in the 19th century.[47] Chillies were introduced in 18th century[48] and large quantities were raised around Srinagar.[49] Large quantities of vegetables were exported for the Imperial kitchen from Kashmir.[50]

---

46. A'in, II, (N.K.), p. 173.
    (ii) Hadiqatul-Aqalim, f. 415.
    (iii) Gulshan-i-Dastur, ff. 343a, 345a.
    (iv) Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 330.

47. G.T.Vigne, Travels etc., I, p. 173.

48. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, pp. 46-47.

49. Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 330.

50. A'in, I, p. 34, II, p. 170.

*

Horticulture:

Even before annexation, Kashmir was famous for her delicious fruits of various kinds, but during the Mughal rule large tracts of land were brought under orchards. New varieties were introduced besides the improvement of the existing fruits through grafting.[1] Mohamad Quli Afshar, an expert in horticulture introduced cherry in the Suba.[2] In the initial stage the cultivation was restricted to Imperial gardens only, but later Jahangir directed the jagirdars and revenue officials to popularise the new varieties.[3] Experiments were carried on in cultivating mangoes and other kinds of Indian fruits, but with little success.[4] Amrood,[5] a variety of pear was cultivated in the valley as well as in Pakhli and Kashtawar.[6]

---

1. Tuzuk, p. 300.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Khafi Khan, Muntakhibu-Lubab, I, p. 203
5. According to Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 500, and N, Guava was not cultivated during the Mughal period in any part of the Empire, but was introduced in 19th century. So far the word Amrood is concerned, it was a specie of pear. In the contemporary chronicles we have both the words Nashpati and Amrood: Tuzuk, pp. 291, 300.

   (ii) Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, III, p. 565. Since there are various kinds of pears found in Kashmir like Nakh, Gosh Bugi and Har Nakh but the guava is not raised even now. See Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, pp. 351-52.
6. Tuzuk, 291

Grapes were cultivated all over Kashmir, and wineyards were found every nook and cornor of the valley.[7] Since the local grapes were not of superior quality,[8] Akbar introduced new varieties like Sāhibī, Kishmishī, etc. The quality of indigenous grapes was also improved side by side.[9] The vines were allowed to grow on the poplars and mulberry trees.[10] The Baghi Dilawar Khan was a famous site for vineculture and there were more than 18 varieties raised in this orchard.[11] Superior varieties were cultivated in Lār[12] and Raipur.[13]

---

7. Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, III, p. 565.
8. Tuzuk, p. 300, (ii) Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, III, p. 565.
9. Gulshan-i-Dastur, ff. 412, 415, (ii) Moorcraft and Trebeck, Travels, II, pp. 150-1.
10. Tuzuk, p. 300, Iqbal Nama, Jahangiri, III, p. 565.
11. Moorcraft & Trebeck, Travels, II, pp. 150-1.
12. A.N., III, p. 733.
13. Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 119a.

    (ii) Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 351.

Appricots, peaches, quince, almonds, walnuts and various kinds of apple were cultivated all over the Suba.[14] Quince seed was exported to India.[15] Almonds and walnuts were grown in abundance, but pistachio were grown in the valley but not extensively.[16] The walnut of Kashmir was superior to the nuts,from the Kabul valley.[17]

Appricots of delicious flavour was the cherished fruit of Little and Greater Tibet.[18] On account of extensive cultivation of the appricots, Baltistan was known as Ts'era Botun.[19] Apples and strawberries, melons, watermelons and pears were also grown in this region.[20] Pomegranates were grown everywhere in the suba.[21]

---

14. A'in, II, (N.K.), pp. 43-44, 170.
    (ii) A.N., III, p. 733.
    (iii) Tuzuk, pp. 296-99, 300-301.
    (iv) Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, pp. 30-31.
    (v) Desideri, Travels etc., p. 72.

15. Tuzuk, p. 300.
    (ii) Insha-i-Har Karan (Folios not page marked).
    (iii) Lawrance, The Valley of Kashmir, pp. 351-52.

16. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 31.
    (ii) Desideri, Travels etc., p. 72.

17. Moorcroft & Trebeck, Travels etc., II, pp. 145-6.

18. Lahori, Badshahnama, II, pp. 19-20.

19. Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 87.

20. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 288.
    (ii) Desideri, Travels etc., pp. 75, 78.
    (iii) Waddel, Lahasa and its Mystereis, p. 478.

21. Tuzuk,pp. 296, 300, (ii) Iqbal Nama Jahangiri,III,567.

Punch and Kashtawar were famous for extensive cultivation of pomegernate but of inferior quality.[22] The melons, watermelons excelled in flavour and sweetness to those found in Kabul and Samarqand.[23] Mulberry trees were found in abundance, but the fruit was not cherished by the people with delight,[24] but wine was distilled from the mulberries.[25]

---

22. Tuzuk, p. 396.

    (ii) Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, III, p. 567.

    (iii)Lahori, Badshah Namà, II, pp. 30-31

23. Ibid.

24. A'in, II, (N.K.), p. 170.

    (ii) Tuzuk, p. 300.

25. George Forster, Journey from Bengal to England etc., II, pp. 21-2.

    (ii) Watt, C.W, Commercial products of India, p. 785.

Trade in Agricultural Produce

The natural barriers might have presented hurdles and drawbacks to the extension of trade and commerce with the outerworld, especially in the mobilization of the grain, but there was no such restraint within the valley. As a matter of fact the river communication was an advantage for such an expansion within. On account of smooth administration, there was a substantial growth in the urban centres,[1] which remained dependent on the rural areas for the raw materials and food grains. As such the possibilities of markets increased, therefore, we should not be surprised to learn that more than 7500 boats were sailing between the production centres (the rural areas) and the main consuming centres, (urban centres) loaded with grains and fodder.[2]

Before the Mughal conquest the land revenue was entirely realized in kind but the Mughals reversed the system, but it caused great oppression to the tenants, so in 1597 jagirdars were directed to realize the revenue in kind and a portion of it was realized in cash.[3] The grain which was collected in the villages by the state officials, and the jagirdars was either sent to Srinagar[4] and sold there to the

---

1. Irfan Habib, <u>Potentialities of Capitalist Development in the Economy of Mughal India</u>, paper presented in the International Economic History Congress, p. 9.
2. <u>Iqbal Nama Jahangiri</u>, III, p. 564.
3. <u>A.N.</u>, III, p. 549, (ii) <u>Inshai Har Karan</u> (Folios not page marked), (iii) Sahib Rai, <u>Durrul Ulum</u>, f. 164b.
4. Ibid.

grain merchants or from the threshing ground.[5] The jagirdars as well as the state, during the reign of Aurangzeb farmed out the land to the contractors, who left the tenants with only a little of their hard-earned produce.[6] This exploitation naturally left the peasants to the mercy of jagirdars. They were deprived of the bulk of their produce which might have found its way to the markets and some quantity returned to the tenants in shape of tagāvi and seeds. In the absence of statistical information, it is difficult to make a correct assessment of the magnitude of grain trade; but we can safely infer that neither the jagirdar, nor the state was interested in preservation of the foodgrains as there were no reserved stocks of foodgrains as the state preferred to collect revenue in cash. So in times of natural calamity in the subah, the grain merchants made huge profits and of the inflated prices at which the food-grains were sold from the hoarded stocks of the grain-dealers. In this way the chief beneficiaries, whenever natural calamities, draughts and famins occurred, were the grain-dealers. Above all the imperial visits greatly benefited the dealers as the beneficial to them Imperial tours were attended to by large retinues which led to further scarcity of and fodder.[7]

---

5. Ibid., (ii) Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 530b, (iii) Insha'i Faiz Bakhash, f. 19-20.

6. Akhbarat, 39 & 43rd R.Y. (ii) Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 327b.

7. JRASB, Vol. 23, N. pp. 115-16.
   (ii) Tuzuk, p. 290.

During the imperial visits large quantity of food and fodder was appropriated from the merchants for use in the imperial camp.[8] A small quantity was exported to Ladakh and Baltistan,[9] and Rajouri; basmati was sent for imperial kitchen.[10] Besides the cereals, saffron, chestnut, fruits and vegetables were main articles of agricultural trade.[11] Chestnut was appropriated by farm contractors and then sold to the biryan Faroshan.[12]

---

8. Tuzuk, p. 286
   (ii) Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 230.
9. Desideri, Travels etc., p. 72.
   (ii) Hashmatullah Khan, p. 311.
   (iii)Dowson Ross, R A London, 1850, p. 372.
10. A'in, I, pp. 62-3 (N.K.)
11. A'in, pp. 62-63.
   (ii) Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, p. 34.
12. Gulshan-i-Dastur, ff. 531-32b.

Droughts, Famins and Measures of Relief

In spite of strict adherence to the natural climatic schedule, the former was deprived of his toil from time to time, by the climatic truancies. The Kashmiri peasant started his agricultural operation right from the Nouroze.[1] His minutest negligence could have spoiled his entire crop easily, because the snowfall on the mountain tops in the early autumn days withered the unripe crops. Moreover, man made barriers also were very often responsible for the failure of crops. Uninterrupted warfare and the imperial visits were no less harmful to the toiling peasant.

In 1597 Kashmir experienced the first famine under the new rule. The oppressive role of occupation forces, and the continuation of Mughal-Chak skirmishes had compelled the tenants to abandon the ancestral land.[2] The imperial camp comprised of more than 25000 sould further aggravated the food situation.[3] The price automatically shot up and the poor people failed to meet out their meagre demands. This caused a terrible panic in the kingdom.[4] The children were exposed to

---

1. Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 342.
2. St. Xaveir, JRASB, Vol. 23, pp. 115-16.
   (ii) A.N., III, p. 727.
3. Ibid., Tuzuk, p. 286.
4. St. Xavier, JRASB, Vol. 23, p. 116
   (ii) A.N., III, p. 727.
   (iii) Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, II, p. 453.

Which experiment!

How does Akbar come after Jahangir?

sale.[5] Thousands of people died and many more fled. Keeping in view this experiment, Jahangir, during his visit in 1622, directed his attendants to arrange their provisions before leaving for Kashmir.[6] But Akbar promptly came to the rescue of the people. Free kitchens were opened every where in the cities and principal towns where thousands of people were served two time meals.[7] In order to alleviate his subjects, Akbar ordered the construction of Nāgar Nagar fort. The labourers were paid in cash and in this way hundreds earned their livelihood.[8] Besides this, other measures were also undertaken. Cash grants were awarded to many people during his stay and prices were fixed.[9] The grain dealers were asked to follow them strictly.[10] During the reign of Jahangir there was no crop failure but plague and fire devastated a considerable portion of the suba during 1622-24.[11] Thousands of people died because of this terrible

---

5. St. Xavier, JRASB, Vol. 23, p. 116.
   ~~(ii) A.N., III, p. 727.~~
   ~~(iii) Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, II, p. 453.~~
   (ii) Macalgan, Akbar and the Jesuits, pp. 77-8.
6. Tuzuk, p. 286.
7. A.N., III, p. 727.
8. A.N., III, p. 727. (ii) Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, II, p. 454.
9. Ibid. 453
10. Ibid.
11. Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, III, p. 541.
    (ii) Tuzuk, p. 220.

plague.[12] The magnitude of the plight was great, perishing entire families,[13] and this plague was followed by a devastating fire. More than 12000 houses burnt in the city of Srinagar. After two years the plague subsided.

In 1642, during the reign of Shahjahan a terrible flood devastated the entire valley.[14] 4000 houses were grounded around the Dal Lake alone.[15] Next year the failure of rains further aggravated the situation. This caused a terrible shortage of food and fodder.[16] The people left Kashmir in search of subsistance. More than 30,000 people went to Lahore, where they appealed the Emperor for relief.[17] The farmers were not able to cultivate the land as neither seed nor the oxen were available. The deserted lands depicted a horrible picture.[18] Numberless free kitchens were opened in and on road-sides.[19] Grain was sent from Lahore, Gujrat and

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid. (ii) Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 124.

14. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, pp. 204-5, 309-10.

15. Ibid., pp. 204-5.

16. Ibid., II, pp. 309-10.
(ii) Mohamad Sadiq Khan, Tarikh-i-Shahjahani-wa-Alamgiri, f. 53a.

17. Ibid.
(ii) Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 140.

18. Amali Salih, II, pp. 360-61.

19. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, pp. 309-10.

Ahmadabad to Kashmir.[20] Taqāvi loans besides the seeds and oxen were distributed among the peasants.[21] Tarbiyat Khan, the Subedar, failed to organise the relief measures efficiently, and he was replaced by Zafar Khan.[22]

In 1664-65, untimely snow-fall destroyed the crops. Seventy-nine thousand rupees were sent by Aurangzeb as relief.[23]

Famine on minor scale and other natural calamities in the shape of earthquakes, and fires, were common.[24]

---

20. Ibid.,

    (ii) Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 140.

21. Mohamad Aslam Mun'ami, Gouhari Alam, p. 271.

22. Tarikh-i-Shahjahani etc., f. 98; Gouhari Alam, p. 273; Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 140.

23. Mohamad Kazim, Alamgir Nama, p. 830.

24. Tuzuk, p. 219.

    (ii) Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 175.

    (iii) Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, p. 174a.

*

LAND REVENUE ASSESSMENT AND COLLECTION

The land revenue system established by Sher Shah Suri had a sound basis which held good up to 1586[1] - the year when Kashmir was annexed to the Mughal Empire. On the other hand constant warfare during the period succeeding Zainul-Abedin had thrown the entire administrative set up by him out of gear.[2] In between 1586 and 1589, there was further deterioration in the Subah[3] resulting in the subsequent Yadgar rising.[4]

Akbar wanted to streamline the local administration, but it was not possible of realisation till 1589. Before undertaking reforms and reorganising the provincial system, it was essential to study the existing system, because the Mughals paid considerable attention to the traditions of the newly conquered territories.[5]

---

1. Moreland, Agrarian System of Moslem India, p. 88.
2. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 278.
3. Shrivara, Raja Tarangni, tr. J.C. Dutt, pp. 418-19.
4. Ibid.
   Rizvi, A.A., Revivalist Movement in Northern India, pp. 224.
5. B.B. Misra, The Administrative History of India, p.645.
   J.N. Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 9.

Kashmir was an appendage of and a sarkar included in the subah of Kabul.[6] But the arrangement was in form, and in effect it enjoyed the status of a subah.[7]

From the very start of the Mughal rule, the process of territorial expansion continued, and, therefore, various changes in the administrative set up were initiated from time to time.

Kashmir valley, since time immemorial, was divided into two divisions, the upper division above Srinagar was known as Marāz, and the division below Srinagar was called Kamrāz.[8]

During his first visit in 1589, Akbar appointed

---

6. A'in, II, (Blochmann), p. 570.

7. A.N., III, p. 605.

Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 8.

P. Saran, Provincial Administration, p. 65, holds the view point that Kashmir became a separate suba under Jahangir, but Abul Faz'l, A.N., III, p. 605, clearly states that Kashmir was a separate subah. But Mohammad Sharif Al-Najfi, has included the revenue of Kashmir as a sarkar in the Kabul subah, Majalisul Slatin, Rieu III 906 or 1903; f. 115a.

J.F. Newal, JASB, vol. 23, p. 435, and P.N.K.Bamzai, A History of Kashmir, wrongly considers Kabul, Sawad, and Pakhli as appendage of suba of Kashmir.

8. A'in, II, (Blochmann), p. 571.

Sheikh Faizi,[9] Mir Sharif Amuli[10] and Khawjgi Mohamad Husain[11] to carry on the assessment work in the Maraz division and Khwaja Shamas-ud-Din Khafi[12] and Kunwar Man Singh were sent to KA Marāz.[13]

---

9. Shaikh Faizi son of Sheikh Mubarak Nagori was born in 1546-47. He was poet and a physician. He held the rank of 400. He died in 1595. (i) A.N., III, p.674. (ii) A'in, II, Blochmann trans., pp. 549-50.

10. Mir Sharif Amuli came to India in 1585, and joined the Mughal services. After the death of Mirza Hakim, he was appointed as Amin and Sad'r of Kabul. He was both a scholar and a poet. He belonged to the Sufi sect of Wahdatul-Wajud. He held the rank of 900. He died in 1598 A.D. A.N., III, 452, 477, 513, 548, 557 and 834. (ii) A'in, II (tr. Blochmann), pp. 502-4. (iii) Ma'asirul-Umara, II, p. 289.

11. Khwajgi Mohamad Husain was younger brother of Mohamad Qasim Mir Bahar. He was given the title of Mir Bar. He came to India in 1560 along with Munim Khan. He was given various assignments from time to time. He held the rank of 900.

A'in, I, N.K.,P. 167. (ii) A.N., III, p. 548. He died in 1612; Tuzuk, p. 114.

12. Raja Man Singh son of Raja Bhagwan Das joined the Mughal service in 1576, and was given the title of farzand. He rose to the prominence after the battle of Goganda (Golconda). He held many posts from time to time, and played a vital role during succession crises at the death of Akbar. Tuzuk, p. 130. He died in 1614, Tuzuk, p. 130. See A.N., I, pp. 6; II, pp. 14, 185, 186, II, 280, 288, 342, 372, III, 448, 467, 511-17, 548, 576-82, and 834.

13. A.N., III, 548-49.

The assessment was carried after the harvest, and,secondly, the local officials did not extend their full support, so the reports were prepared on the basis of the experience of the authorities.[14] In spite of so many lacunae,[15] the reports were quite exhaustive. The reports revealed that the land was divided into tracts, and each tract was called patta, each patta was equal to one bigha and one biswa in area, according to gazi Ilahi.[16]

The revenue demand under the Sultans was one-third of the produce, but practically more than two-third was appropriated.[17] The actual raís' were found as under:

One man, 30½ sers for mu'ng, mothe, and māsh; two mans 20½ sers for kangni and arzan; five mans of paddy; wheat one man, 26 sers, barley one man and 26¾ sers, and

---

14. Ibid., 549.
15. A.N., III, p. 549.
16. Ibid. This is not supported by the documents and local administrative manuals. The area was determined by the quantity of seed required in the area i.e. an area in which one kharwar of seed was sown was known as one kharwar of land. Revenue document Nos., 17, 21, 23.
    (ii) Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 373a.
    (iii) A.N., III, (Beveridge translation), pp. 830-3 and N. According to
    (iv) Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 243, each kharwar of land was equal to four British acres. Even at present the same tradition is followed. Each trakh is equal to two kanals.
17. A.N., III, p. 549.
    (ii) A'in, II, p. 570.
    (iii) Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, pp. 223-24.

lentils and rape one man and 30½ sers from each patta.[18]

The total revenue demand was fixed at half of the produce, and revenue demand was decreased by two lakh kharwars of paddy.[19] Since the officials of Yousf Khan Rizvi had not been cooperative, and as such the revenue was fixed tentatively. Meanwhile, one Tota Ram, Peshkar of Yousf Khan Rizvi, complained against him for embezzlement in the revenue.[20]

Akbar sent Qazi Ali and Qazi Nurullah to investigate the case.[21] A detailed assessment was carried

---

18. A.N., III, pp. 548-49. There is no substantial difference between the rais' fixed in the rest of the Northern India and Kashmir. A'in, II, (N.K.), p. 207-8. These were new rais and not the old as presumed by Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 224.

19. A'in, II, p. 570 (Bloch); (ii) A.N., III, p.549.

20. A'in, II, (N.K.), p. 196. Tota Ram was himself a corrupt official, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, Anon. (Hindi) RPD Srinagar, f. 8.

21. A.N., III, p. 595; (ii) Suka, Raja Taranoni tr. (J.C. Dutt), p. 418. According to Mohamad Azam, Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 118; (ii) Mohamad Aslam Munami, Gouhari Alam, p. 253. (iii) Birbal Kachroo, Majmu-u-Tawarikh, op. cit., the assessment work was carried out by Raja Todar Mal. Some modern historian have also committed the same mistake, J.P. Newal, JASB, Vol. 23 (III), p. 432, Lawrance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 194, and P.N.K. Bamzai, A History of Kashmir, p. 390.
Akbar paid his first visit to the valley in 1589. At the time of his departure, Todar Mal was detained at Lahore, A.N., III, p. 537. He died there on 8th November, 1589, A.N., III, p. 569. According to Augusts Fedric, Akbar, II, pp. 195-96. Todar Mal died on 9th October, 1587, which is incorrect. Qazi Ali and Husain Beg were sent in 1591, so the possibility of his presence in Kashmir does not arise at all.

out, which caused great distress among the soldiers and the servants of Yousf Khan Rizvi, who were deprived of the illegal income exacted from the cultivators.[22] Qazi Ali was assisted by Hasan Beg Sheikh Umari.[23] He was deputed in 1592 on the request of Qazi as the gumashtās of Yousf Khan did not cooperate with him.[24]

Qazi Ali divided the sarkar into 42 mahals; each village was assessed and the total demand was fixed at 3063050 lakh kharwars and 11 trakhs, out of it 901663 kharwars and 8 trakhs were to be paid in cash at the rate of

---

22. A.N., III, p. 595; Shrivara, Raja Tarangni, tr. J.C. Dutt, p. 418.

23. Nothing is known about the early life of Hasan Beg Sheikh Umari. He was given Pakhli in jagir in 1589, A.N., III, 591. In 1601, his mansab was increased to 2500. During the rebellion of Khusrou, he joined the prince along with his five hundred stout Badalehshi soldiers at Mathura. After the repulsion of the revolt, Hasan Beg was put into a cow-hide and tied to a donkey. He died in the same skin on June, 11, 1606. Tuzuk, p. 32.

24. A.N., III, pp. 617-19. During this ~~period~~ revenue operation, Qazi Ali was killed in an encounter with the servants of Yousf Khan Rizvi. Husain Beg Sheikh Umari escaped to India via Rajouri. Mirza Yadgar was declared the king, later the revolt was put down and Yadgar was killed. For details, see Chapter I, Section II.

$13\frac{8}{25}$ dams per kharwār.[25]

The grain was commuted into cash at the rate of 29 dams per kharwār.[26] The total jama' was fixed at 74670411 dams.[27] However, Yousf Khan Rizvi was reluctant to accept the enhanced jama'. The entire subah was attached to khalisa under the charge of Shamas-ud-Din.[28] But, on the recommendation of prince Salim, it was resumed to Yousf Khan on the previous jama',[29] 622,02,203¼ dams. Yousf Khan Rizvi

---

25. Add 7652, f. 297b. In Blochmann edition, 570, it is 901063.8. A'in, II, 570 (Blochmann), Add 7652, f. 297b. Abul Faz'l gives the following scale of the weights current in Kashmir 2 dams weight was equal to 1 pal, 7½pal = 1 ser; 4 sers=1 manwat or man; 4 mans = 1 trakh and 16 trakh = 1 kharwar. A'in, II, 570, Gulshan-i-Dastur, ff. 561b-562a. In the colloqial language the kharwar was called khari, Suka, (T.C. Dutt), p. 424. Latter it appears to have been persianised. I think to translate the kharwar as load, Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 375, is not correct. According to the same authority each kharwar was equal to 177.02 lbs., while Lawrance had estimated one kharwar equal to $166\frac{32}{35}$ lbs, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 242.

26. A'in, II, (Blochmann), p. 570-71, Add 7652, f.297b.

27. Ibid.

28. Khwaja Shamas-ud-Din son of Khwaja Ala-u'd-Din was a resident of Khawaf a district of Khurasan. He joined the Mughal Court in 26th R.Y., and was appointed as superintendent of fort Atak. Later on, he was appointed as diwan of Kabul. He died in 1600 at Lahore. A'in, (tr. Blochmann), pp. 494-95.

29. A.N., III, p. 627; Cambridge History of India, IV, p. 140.

was transferred in 1594, and Kashmir was parcelled out among Ahmad Beg Khan, Mohamad Quli Beg, Hamza Beg, Hasan Beg, Gird Ali, Hasan Ali Arab, and Mohamadi Beg.[30] The cultivators were spoiled by the harsh jagirdars, therefore, Asaf Khan[31] was sent to reassess the subah after 1594.[32] New jama' was increased by 16392 kharwārs 5 trakhs, but a subsidy of five dams in each kharwār was recommended. So, in fact, there was no increase in the jama', when commuted into cash, but a decrease of 860034½ dams.[33] The jama' was fixed at 3079443 kharwars out of it 1011330½ kharwārs were to be paid in cash.[34]

---

30. A.N., III, p. 654.

31. Asaf Khan Mirza Qawamud Din, Jafar Beg was son of Badi-ul-zaman. Badi-u'l-zaman was wazir of Kashan during the reign of Shah Tahmasp Shah. Asaf Khan joined the Mughal Court in 1577. He left the Mughal Court and attended the Court of Muzaffar Khan of Bengal, because Akbar appointed him only a commander of twenty. But after sometime he joined the Mughal Court and was given a rank of 2000, and the title of Asaf Khan, A'in, Blochmann, p. 451-2. In 42nd R.Y., he was appointed Diwani-kul. In 1605, his mansab was increased to 3000. He was promoted to the rank of 5000 by Jahangir. He died in 1612, Tuzuk, pp. 108-109. According to Ma'asirul Umara (Farsia Akhbar, 108, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh), Asaf Khan died in 1094 A.H./1682-83, which is incorrect.

32. According to Beveridge, A.N., III, pp. 1085-6 n, Asaf Khan revised the jama' in 1594 while distributing the suba among the aforesaid jagirdars. It appears he has not noticed the reference in A.N., III, p.661, where it is mentioned that Asaf Khan did not enhance the revenue.

33. A'in, II, 570-71 (Blochmann), Add. 7652, f. 297b.

34. Ibid.

Qazi Ali had divided the sarkar Kashmir in 42 parganas but Asaf Khan reduced the number to only 38.[35]

As mentioned earlier, the jagirdars appropriated the surplus produce from the tenants. The cultivators collapsed under the heavy burden of exorbitant taxes.[36] In 1597, Akbar found the subah in a ruined condition.[37] He immediately introduced some new reform measures in order to ascertain the actual jama'. The subah was divided into 14 divisions, and two bitikchies (one Hindi and the other Persian knowing) were appointed to each division.[38]

All the previous rais' were supurious and a fixed jama' was realized annually without obtaining information afresh regarding kāshta and uftāda lands.[39]

---

35. A'in, II, (Blochmann), p. 573., Add. 7652, f.297b.

36. A.N., III, p. 732.

37. A.N., III, p. 726.

38. Ibid. Beveridge in his translation of A.N., III, pp. 1085-6, has wrongly interpreted the following sentence: همگی ملک را چهارده بخش کرده . بهریک دو بتکچی ایرانی وهندی فرستادند

He presumes 'بهریک دو' is a clerical mistake and it should be 'بهریک ده' (in each village) which is not a fact. See Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, II, p.453.

39. A.N., III, p. 727.

But the <u>bitikchies</u> were instructed to avoid spurious or unauthenticated information. The new demand was fixed according to the fertility of the land and the span of cultivation.

For the land left uncultivated for a period of ten years or more, the demand in the first year was fixed at one-sixth, one-fourth for second year, one-third for third year and afterward at the usual rate when brought under cultivation.[40] In case the land was ploughed after a period of less than ten years and not more than four, the demand was one-fifth for the first year, one-third for the second year and thereafter at one-half, while it was one-third in the first year and one-half in the subsequent year if brought under plough after a period of four years.[41]

In case of cash crops like <u>saffron</u>, the state demand continued the same and the same method of assessment, i.e. <u>Nasqi-qalla-Bakhash</u> was followed.[42]

---

40. <u>A.N.</u>, III, p. 727. Beveridge has wrongly translated this sentence قرارگرفت درکشت وکار ناکشتمند افزون ده ساله "when the settlement was for more than ten years....." <u>A.N.</u>, III, p. 1086.
41. Ibid.
42. Inscription of Jamia Masjid, Srinagar,
(ii) <u>Tuzuk</u>, p. 315.
(iii) <u>Rouzatul Arifin</u>, f. 15.
(iv) Revenue document Nos. 7 dated 1082, and 23 dated 1074 R.P.D. Srinagar. <u>Irfan Habib</u>, <u>The Agrarian System of Mughal India</u>, p. 194, has conjectured that zabti system was followed in case of cash crops, does not apply, so far as saffron cultivation in Kashmir ~~is~~ was concerned.

Under the Sultans the land revenue was realized in kind,[43] but under the Mughals the mal was realized in kind and other taxes in cash.[44]

The method of Nasqi-qala-Bakhash introduced by Akbar continued throughout our period but in a simple form.[45] Obviously the tenants were benefited by this system because they were not directly affected by the fluctuating prices.[46] The burden of droughts, truancies of climate and floods was borne by both the parties viz., the cultivator and the assignee. But at the sametime there were disadvantages as well. It was a cumbersome and expensive method. It involved a great number of officials at the harvests besides the usual village officials.[47] We can easily visualise the difficulties

---

43. A.N., III, pp. 726-27.
    (ii) A'in, II, (Blochmann), pp. 570-71.
    (iii) Tuzuk, p. 300.

44. A'in, II, (Blochmann), pp. 570-71.
    According to Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 237, the entire land revenue was realized in kind and cash nexus introduced earlier, was withdrawn. It is partially correct, because the sairjahat taxes were realized in cash. Supra 43. Tuzuk, p. 300.

45. A'in, II, (Blochmann), p. 570.
    (ii) Durrul U'lum, f. 164b.

46. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 239.

47. Durrul U'lum, p. 164b. See the Section III, Part I of this Chapter also.

experienced by the peasants under such a method. The presence of a shiqdār at the time of harvesting and thrashing was essential. While on the one hand the short spanned harvesting season was a domicile sword hanging over the head of the peasant and on the other he was to wait upon the village official which very often might have been responsible for the spoliation of the produce.

In the other regions of subah like Little Tibet, Greater Tibet, Kashtawār, the zamindars continued to levy the taxes according to previous systems,[48] while Nasqi qalla Bakhash as the method of assessment remained in force throughout our period.[49]

---

48. The main source of revenue in Little and Greater Tibet was gold dust collected from the sand of the Indus and Shayok. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p.288. Approximately two thousand tolas of gold was collected from the sand, and sold at the rate of rupees seven a tola, Amali Salih, II, p. 264. Sheep and cattle were also levied. The house-hold requirements of the chieftain were provided by the people. Grain was supplied from twenty four villages from Nubra, besides Lamyuru, Skarpoche, Tungmogong, Sespula, and Buzgo, for the chief. Meat was supplied by residents of Rupsho and Ruthog, butter from Zanskar and four thousand maunds of timber was provided by the villagers of Chalang , Khurdung and Dhandrddhole valleys. Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i Jammu, etc., p. 427. Similarly, no tax was imposed on the land in Kashtawār. Each house owner was to pay a sum of six sanhansi equal to four rupees annually, besides, a tax of rupees four was levied on each ser of saffron, but the tax was paid by the customer. Tuzuk, pp. 296-97.

49. Durrul U'lum, f. 164b.
   (ii) Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 227.
   (iii) Moreland, Agrarian System of Moslem India, p. 122.

It has been discussed above that the magnitude of land revenue demand was fixed at half of the produce. But above and over the demand, extra burden in the form of wujuhāt, sairjahāt, habūbat and faruāt was also borne by the tenants.[50]

It is not possible to determine the percentage of the said taxes in an euclidean way. But it requires explanation if the taxes were included in the jama'. Whatever was realised from the cultivated land was called māl;[51] the expenses incurred on its assessment and collection were called jihat,[52] while the tax imposed upon vafious occupations and

---

50. A'in, I, pp. 205, 209-10 (N.K.)
    (ii) Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 243 & n.
    (iii) N.A. Siddiqi, Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals, p. 42-43.
    N.A. Siddiqi, IESH, Vol. II, Part I, January, 1965, p. 375, has presumed the taxes in the crop sharing regions were not separately calculated. But we have a significant evidence in Inshai Har Karan where a Qabaz of Abdul Latif a servant of Samad Khan jagirdar is preserved. ~~habubat from the Muqadam of Shawangas village.~~ He had received rupees sixty on account of habubat from the Muqadam of Shawangas village.

51. A'in, I, (N.K.), p. 205.
    (ii) Dasturul Amali-Alamgiri, Add. 6599, p. 30621; f. 28.

52. Ibid.

trade was known as sairjahāt.[53] There were in addition exaction and perquisities appropriated by the assignees excluding jama', known as habubāt and farūāt.[54]

Besides, we have a long list of various impositions like dāmdārī, sirdarakhtī, dastār shumārī, teli charāgh, hāsili-hatab, and chouthai.[55]

Hāsli hatab was realised at the rate of two dams per kharwar of jama', I'taqad Khan[56] increased it to four dams.[57]

---

53. A'in, I, pp. 205, 209-10 (N.K.).
    (ii) Dasturulamli Ālamgiri, Add. 6599, p. 30621, f.28. A list of all such occupations and trades is available in this manual.
    (iii) According to Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 552a, māl or māliya was the tax on produce of the agricultural land, but the orchards and fodder tax was known as jihat.
    (iv) Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 243.
    (v) N.A. Siddiqi, Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals, pp. 42-43.

54. A'in, I, p. 205.
    (ii) Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 243.

55. Hasili Hatab was a tax imposed on each village in connexion with fuel brought from the forests, and chouthai was a tax on the litigants. They had to pay one-fourth of the value of the sued property. This tax was an innovation of Abu Nasar Khan in A'in, II, p. 178.
    (ii) Inscription on the gate of Jamia Masjid, Srinagar.
    (iii) Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 528a.

56. Qazvini, II, f. 267b-268a. (ii) Jamia Masjid Inscription. (iii) Birbal Kachroo, Majmut-Tawarikh, op.cit. has also preserved a copy of the same inscription.

57. Ibid.

A tax on the villages yielding a revenue of four hundred kharwārs and above was also levied.at the rate 62 dams.[58] Sardarakhti and kāhcharai taxes were included in the sairjahat taxes. Though Jahangir explicitly had forbidden the realization of the sardarakhti in his 13th year,[59] but practically it was never discontinued.[60] As a matter of fact, during 1622-32, the orchard-owners were compelled to cut down their orchards because of the torturous imposition.[61]

After the annexation the aforesaid abwābs were remitted by Akbar,[62] but after his death Jahangir again issued directives to the officials not to realize the abolished taxes.[63] Similarly, Shahjahan[64] and Aurangzeb[65]

---

58. Ibid. Before his appointment two sheep were to be paid, but Shahjahan discontinued the cess completely.
59. Tuzuk, p. 252.
60. Gulshan-i-Dastur, ff. 297-98b.
    (ii) Durrul U'lum, f. 264b.
61. Jamia Masjid Inscription.
62. A'in, I, (N.K.), pp. 209-10; Suka, (Tr. J.C. Dutt), p. 418.
63. Glaudin, History of Jahangir, p. 100.
64. Jamia Masjid Inscription.
    (ii) Qazvini, II, ff. 267-68.
65. Firman to Risale Das and Hashim Khan.

exempted the tenants from these taxes. There can be only two assumptions as to why the strictures were issued from time to time. Firstly, it was Mughal tradition to provide guidelines to the officials and assignees for future and secondly, the taxes continued to be realized. Alternately two other considerations might have necessitate the re-statement of their orders viz., firstly, the successive emperors to reassert their authority after their accession issued. Such orders, and secondly, the orders issued earlier were never implemented by the officials. This second explanation appears to be more plausible. The state was a protecting arm to the exploiters, and a party to this exploitation[66] and this appears to be partly if not wholly, correct, because strictures were issued from time to time in the interest of the tenants and a number of pieces of evidence may be cited[67] to support the proposition further. The top-level

---

66. S. Nurul Hasan, Zamindars Under the Mughals Land Controle and Social Structure in Indian History, pp. 17-31.
    (ii) Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, pp. 191, 256.

67. A'in, 196, 198, (ii) 175 etc.
    (ii) Jamia Masjid Inscription.
    (iii) Aurangzeb's fArman to Rasik Das and Hashim Khan.
    (iv) Akhbarat, 39, 42, 43rd year.
    (v) Gulshan-i-Dastur, ff. 524, 532.
    (vi) J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, III, p. 89.

officials were removed on the complaints of the subjects.[68] Even the taxes actually realised were repaid to the ryots concerned.[69]

---

68. Tuzuk, p. 294.

Malik Haidar, Chadūra, f. 214.

69. A Document dated 1118 H preserved in R.P.D. Srinagar No. 31.

*

PARGANĀHS AND THE NUMBER OF VILLAGES IN 1707*

Table I

S.No.	Name of Parganāhs	No. of Villages	Footnotes
1	Balda Srinagar excluding Mahāl Mīr-Baharī	15	
2	Islāmābād	106	
3	Ular	121	
4	I'ch[1]	104	1. Inch of A'in, II,(N.K.),p.176 Yecha of Moorcraft, Travels, Vol.2, p. 113. Indarkol of Jarrets, translation of A'in, II, p. 356.
5			
5	Advin	208	
6	Andar Kot	8	
7	Bāngil	203	
8	Beerū	182	
9	Brang	70	
10	Batu	63	
11	Phāk	64	
12	Ṭelagām	46	
13	Devasar	162	
14	Dachin Khawoora	102	
15	Wohi	120	
16	Dachin Pārā	80	
17	Khawūr Pārā	56	
18	Zainaporā	30	
19	Zainagīr	98	
20	Sair-ul-Mawāziá	109	
21	Sopra Soman	21	
22	Shakroha	97	
23	Showūra	59	

24	Shahābād	21	
25	Kutahār	41	
26	Krohen	68	
27	Khuihāmā	55	
28	Khoi	14	
29	Kamrāz[2]	469	2. Kamrāz Parganah was stretched over a vast territory. It was divided into 6 Taphas: 1. Tapah Hamal, 2. Machipura, 3. Ramhal, 4. Niheri, 5. Utar, 6. Lotab.
30	Lār	87	
31	Mānchihāma	89	
32	Mārtand	11	
33	Mohammadābād	30	
34	Nāgām[3]	200	3. Comprised of three Taphas: 1. Chirat, 2. Nagam, 3. Arigam.
35	Wunts[4]	30	4. Dainsuk of Moorcroft, II, p. 113.
36	Greater Tibet	No. of villages not mentioned	
37	Little Tibet		
38	Kashtawar		
39	Gilgit		
40	Barshāl		
41	Sarsāl		

✓ *

42	Pakhli	
43	Dardu	
44	Doomyal	
45	Damtūr	
46	Kashāk	
47	Kamlāk	
48	Kahal	3270
49	Punch	
50	Rajour	
51	Maruwardwan	
52	Noushahra	
53	Bānihāl	

(*) Mainly based on <u>Mukhtasar Tawarikh-i-Kashmir</u> by Narain Koul 'Ajiz, and supplanted with the information contained in <u>Waqiat-i-Kashmir</u>, compiled in 1748, and <u>Tarikh-i-Hasan</u> MS I Vol.

*

PARGANAH-WISE LAND REVENUE BASED ON THE REPORT OF QAZI ALI AND ASAF KHAN

Table II

S.No.	Name of Parganah	REVENUE IN 1589 (Kharwars) Paid in Kind	Paid in Cash Rs/-as/P	Footnotes
1	Inch[1]	144102-	2634- 4-0	1. I'tchch in Jarret, Ulanj in Sheifta Collection MS.
2	Brang	78834- 4	8779-	
3	Wuhi	209332- 8	-	
4	'Ular	128656- 4	12605- 8-0	
5	Phāk	71111-12-	17402- 8-0	
6	Dachin Pāra	75153- 0-0	6902-12-0	
7	Khowar Pāra	45286- 8-0	3575-12-0	
8	Kuthār[2]	37479- 4-0	3221-12-0	2. Khatar of Jarret, II, p. 355.
9	Marū Wardwan (Maru Adwin)	-	5041- 0-0	
10	Mattan	19043- 8-0	1862- 8-0	
11	Advin	101432- 4-0	14815-10-0	
12	Ich[3]	98369- 0-0	14377- 4-0	3. Yecha of Moorcroft, Travels, Vol.II, p.113
13	Banihal	6435- 0-0	-	
14	Batu	3521- 0-0	4235- 8-0	
15	Devasar	85644- 8-0	8229- 8-0	
16	Zainapūr	15875- 4-0	1790-12-0	
17	Soporsouran[4]	6133- 0-0	2003- 4-0	4. Excluding Hasil Hatat
18	Shawoora	39167- 0-0	8550-12-0	
19	Shakrooh	45204- 0-0	12757- 8-0	
20	Nāgām	189770-12-0	22576- 4-0	
21	Ver	12270- 8-0	00838- 0-0	
22	Zainagir[5]	13253- 0-0	3255- 8-0	5. Zenakar of Jarret, II, p. 355.
23	Khoihāmā	15522- 0-0	83607- 0-0	

24	Andarkot[6]	9553- 4-0	7238- 0-0	6. Indarkol of Jarret, II, p. 355.
25	Parispora	18803-12-0	3352- 0-0	
26	Pattan	4799- 4-0	523- 0-0	
27	Bāngil[7]	115233-12-0	20280- 4-0	7. Bankal of Jarret, II, p. 355.
28	Beerū	57098-12-0	13383- 0-0	
29	Ṭeḷagām	15415-12-0	4435- 0-0	
30	Dansu	53219- 8-0	17038- 8-0	
31	Dachin Khāwoorā	36222- 4-0	20653- 0-0	
32	Sairul Mawāzia[8]	192641- 4-0	18553-12-0	8. From each pargana a few fertile villages were attach ed to Khalisa and were termed as <u>Sairul Mawazia</u>. The total number of these villages was 109 (Narain Koul 'Ajiz in 1709).
33	Khui	12945- 4-0	370- 0-0	
34	Krohen	115474- 0-0	29779-12-0	
35	Kamrāj	342844- 4-0	103725- 4-0	
36	Lār[9]	128650- 0-0	22650- 0-0	9. Pargana Lār has not been mentioned in any of the MS of <u>A'in</u> while it was assessed by Shamasud-Din. The revenue figures for this pargana are from <u>Tarikh-i-Hasan</u>, MS, Vol. I.
37	Balda Srinagar[10]	1698- 4-0	342694-12-0	10. Since the figures in various manuscripts vary from each other, I have consulted the following MS: Add.7652, Br.MS., Blochmann (ed) Jarrets II volume, Sheifta Collection MS & Sir Sulaiman Collection of M.A. Library, AMU., Aligarh. Nowal Kishore edition 1889.

Jama'dami Figures

Year	Jama'dami	Sources
1592-3	7,46,70,411	A'in, I, 570-71 (Bloch)
1594-95	7,63,72,165¾	"
"	6,22,02,203¼	"
1595-96	6,21,13,045	"
1633-38	11,93,80,000	Farhang-i-Kardani
1638-1656	15,00,00,000	Lahori
"	14,00,00,000	"
"	14,68,50,000	"
"	11,43,80,000	"
"	14,02,00,000	"
"	11,71,80,000	"
"	12,62,85,000	"
"	11,43,80,000	"
"	14,02,01,900	"
1646-47	13,64,12,039	Add. 16863
1647	15,37,50,000	Tārikh-i-Shāhjahāni
1646-56	14,02,00,000	Dastūr-ul'Amal-i-Navisandagī
c.1656	11,43,90,000	Dastūr-ul'Amal-i-'Ālamgiri
c.1667	21,30,74,826	Mir'at-ul-Ālam, Add.7657
c.1687-91	22,49,11,397	Zawābita 'Ālamgiri, Add.6598, or 1641
c.1685-1695-96	22,99,11,397	Frazer 86
1687	22,99,11,397	Intikhāb-i-Dastūr-ul-'Amal-i-Padshàhi
1697-98	27,79,11,397	Khulāsa-tu-Siyāq
1703	22,99,16,698	Khalāqus-Siyāq
1707	22,99,09,680	Storia, II (3)
1709	22,99,11,300	Sajan Rai Bhandari

*

CHAPTER III

The Land Revenue Organization

Revenue assessment and collection was most cumbersome job. This process stretched over nearly the entire year. It involved a large number of officials with the Diwān at the top and village muqaddam and patwāri at the lower grades.[1]

As a matter of fact the entire bureaucracy was either directly or indirectly involved in land revenue administration. Every mansabdar held a rank and his remuneration was fixed accordingly.[2] The state in lieu of giving the salary in cash assigned certain area with the jama' equal to his rank. The state thus delegated its authority to the Mansabdars to collect the revenue and charge their emoluments and the cost of the maintenance of their respective contingents from such accumulations. They administered their jagirs through their agents. The villages where revenue was collected by the state directly were known as khālisa. But the chiefdoms of Little and Greater Ṭibeṭ, Kashṭawār, and Pakhli were assigned to the local chieftains as their watan jāgirs. They carried the administration according to the traditional set up.[3] The revenue of these newly acquired territories was calculated broadly and without any regard to practical realisations in

---

1. B.B. Misra, The Administrative History of India, p.638. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 127.
2. Abdul Aziz, Mansabdari System of the Mughals, etc. pp 1-4
3. See Chapter III for further details.

order to determine the rank of the watan jagir holder.[4] The Centre did not intervene in their territories so long as they remained peaceful and paid the peshkash, whatsoever, regularly.[5]

But the jāgirdārs and madadi ma'āsh grant holders were bound to conform to the imperial directives and strictures.

As mentioned above in Section I of this Chapter, Akbar soon after the annexation appointed a team of officials to bring the land revenue administration in tone with the administration of the Empire.

In the land revenue administration, there were two sets of officials who were directly involved in it, viz. firstly, those who were appointed by the government and were subject to transfers; secondly, the permanent hereditary village officials like muqaddam, patwāri and qanūngo and choudhari.

The services of the latter description were most essential in the khālisa and equally in jagirs. Their pivotal role was to a larger extent responsible for

---

4. Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri, p. 294; Lahori, Badshah Nama, II. p, 287.

5. Akhbārāt, 12 Rabiul Awal, 43 R.Y. Muharam, 13th R.Y.

shaping the socio-economic set up.[6] But here we are concerned with their service which they rendered in connection with the land revenue administration.

The Muqaddam, who played the part of an intermediary was the main pillar of land revenue system. His services along with the village patwāri were essential but he was never considered a government servant.[6a] He assisted the khālisa officials and the agents of the jāgirdar in assessment and collection of land revenue.[7] Land Revenue System was based on Nasqi-galla-Bakhsh system and māl was realized in kind.[8]

define

---

6. Khawariqus-Salikin, f. 119a
   Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, pp. 400-1
   Moreland, The Agrarian System of Moslem India, p. 177.
   S. Nurul Hasan, Zamindars under the Mughals, published in Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History, p. 25.
   E.F. Knight, Where the Three Emperors meet, pp. 65-66

6a. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, pp. 129-30

7. Inshai Har Karan, (Folios not page-marked) 406/139 Subhanullah Collection, Maulana Azad Library, AMU., Aligarh.

8. A.N. III, p. 726.
   A'in-i-Akbari, (N.K.), p. 276.

The grain was carried to the city of Srinagar through river transport. Therefore, it was the exclusive responsibility of the muqaddam to carry out the delivery of grain to the boatmen who apparently used to be Tahvildārs.[9]

In order to prevent the shortfall in the revenue realisation taqāvi loans and seeds were advanced to the ryots through him.[9] He was to sign an undertaking guaranteeing the repayment of loan, cost of seed along with the interest.[10] He functioned as the sole representative of the villagers and in due course of time muqaddam turned to be most resourceful and powerful person.[11] On the account of identical interests, muqaddam logically might have been fighting on behalf of the peasants against the atrocities of the jāgirdārs. A solitary but significant evidence in Khawariqus Salikin also supports our inference. Village Pānzath of the paragana Nāgām was in the jāgir of subedar. His agents were cruel and harassed the tenants.

---

9. Farhang-i-Kardani, ff. 35-36.
   Letter Collection Acc No. 2776, f. 7ab, Research Library, Srinagar.

9. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, ff. 530b, 531a.

10. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, ff. 314a-b, 524a.
    Farhang-i-Kardani, ff. 35-36.
    Moreland, Agrarian System of Moslem India, p.177.
    Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, pp. 131-32.
    Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 447.

11. Khawaeriqus-Salikin, p. 177.
    E.F. Knight, Where Three Empires Meet, pp.65-66.
    Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 447.

Sheikh Fataḥ Dār the muqaddam of the village raised his voice against the agents.[12] Later he was imprisoned by the ṣubehdār.[13]

But at the sametime he did not lag behind in exploiting the tenants where his own interests were involved.[14] The muqaddam kept the ryots divided and encouraged dissension among them.[15] In some villages there used to be more than one muqaddam,[16] possibly because of the hereditary character of the institution.

In lieu of their services (muqaddami), ~~they~~ the muqaddams received some perquisits in the form of revenue free land called Nānkār.[17]

---

12. Khawariqus-Salikin, f. 119a.
13. Khawariqus-Salikin, f. 119a.
14. Hamidullah Shahabadi, Dasturul 'Amal, f. 4.
15. Ibid.
    Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 132.
16. Inshai Har Karan, 406/139, Subhanullah Collection, Maulana Azad Library, AMU., Aligarh.
    Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 314a-b.
    Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 131.
17. Diwan Pasand, f. 41.
    Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 532a.
    Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 447.
    E.F. Knight, Where Three Empires Meet, pp. 65-66.
    Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 127.
    S. Nurul Hasan, Zamindārs under the Mughals, p. 25.

Patwari

Patwāri a hereditary village accountant,[18] a close associate of the muqaddam, and an accomplice of the Qanūngo, who collectively turned a dehqān to a bonded labourer.[19] His primary duty was to maintain land records,[19a] since the continuation of the land records was essential for determining the land revenue.[20] But to conceal his deceit he prepared spurious records besides the authentic ones.[21] His records were utilised for the auditing of āmils.[21a] He accompanied Muqaddam to paragana office at the time of annual verification of revenue assessment, collection and distribution of taqāvī and seeds.[22]

---

18. The institution was existing in the suba since a very long time by the name of Gramadivira, R.K. Parmu, A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, p. 401.

    Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 447.

19. Hamidullah Shahābādi, Dastūrul 'Amal, f. 7.

19a. A'in, I, p. 209; Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 135.

    N.A. Siddiqi, Land Revenue Administration, pp. 18-19.

20. A'in, I, p. 209; P. Saran, Provincial Administration, etc., p. 243.

21. Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 446.

21a. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 135.

22. Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 534b.

Tahwildar:

Most of the state demand in the Subah was realized in kind,[23] and the grain was deposited with the Tahwildārs or hawāldār or ambārdārs.[24] Sometimes, the grain was collected in the same village in the granary of the Tahvildar,[25] who later carried it to the nearest river port wherefrom it was carried to Srinagar.[26] Sometimes, the ryots carried the grain in person and delivered the same to the Tahvildār, who apparently used to be a boatman.[27] The whole transaction was supervised by the muqaddam of the village.

The Tahvildārs executed an undertaking promising the safe delivery of the grain without any adulteration or embezzlement.[28] Samples of the grain were retained by the muqaddam for checking the grain at the time delivery.[29]

---

23. A'in, II, pp. 273-74. Add. 7652, f. 297b.

24. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, ff. 530b, 431a.

25. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 530b.

26. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 531a.

27. Inshai Har Karan, op. cit. Ramzan Bhat, boatman, was Tahvildar for the village Badr (village not identified) of pargana Brang. Karim Hānji, son of Rajab Mathanji, was ohātdār of village Kemu, Insha No. 3102. Research Library, Srinagar; Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 531a

28. Insha Collection No. 3102, op. cit. Research Library, Srinagar.

29. Ibid. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 531a; Insha Collection No. 3102, Research Library, Srinagar.

They charged the mālguzār with some extra grain in order to meet out wastage, and at the time of delivery he was given some rebate as well.[30] But at the time of the appointment economic considerations were also taken into consideration.[31]

The chestnut growers had to pay the carriage charges to the Tahvildār at the rate of one tanka per kharwār.[32] These operations were administered by the paragana officials, the Āmil, Amīn, Choudharī and Qanūngo. Besides, there were Kārkun, or Betikchī, Mutasadi, and Fotadār.

Āmil or Karori:

This institution was introduced in the subah by Mughals. In 1586, Akbar appointed āmils in each paragana to take charge of revenue administration.[33] The primary duty

---

30. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 530b.
31. Hidayitul Qawāid, op. cit.
32. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 530b.
33. Tabqati Akbari, pp. 371-2.
Hasan Beg Khāki, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 36a.
In 19th year Akbar introduced some new measures to check the frauds and embezzlements. An area yielding a carore of tankas was assigned to an official called Karori; the experiment was later discontinued, but the word Karori still stuck to the amil or amalguzar. A'in, II, p. 288. Khulastus-Siyaq, f. 26a; Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, pp. 275, 80.

of āmil or karorī was to supervise and expedite the collection of the revenue assessed by the amīn.[34] He was to ensure the cultivation of the arable land and provide ṭaqāvi and seeds to the tenants.[35] In case the money was not available in the treasury the āmils borrowed it from the mahājans.[36] At the time of revenue collection coercion was also applied if the tenant was adamant to pay the revenue.[37]

Mahāsils were appointed in each village in order to watch grain fields, thrashing grounds, orchards and other fruit trees and to expedite the revenue collection by the āmil.[37a]

The following papers and registeres were maintained by the karori.

Jamá-wa Asalbaqi, roznāmcha, adwārcha Jamábandī, Jama-wa-Kharch Fotadār, maintaining rate lists.[38] A copy of these documents was also submitted to the Provincial Diwan.[39]

---

34. Dastūrul Ámli Ālamgiri, Add. 6599. f. 196, Khulasatus-Siyaq, f. 27. A'in in the chapter of Amal Guzār has laid down detailed directives for karori.
35. A'in, II, p. 288 (N.K.), Diwān Pasand, p. 30621, f. 6; Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 524.
36. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 524.
37. A'in, II, p. 288.
37a. Durrul'aloom, f. 164b. It appears Mahāsil and Mutasadi was only one official. Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 532. See also Tuzuki Jahangiri, p. 308.
38. Zawābita Ālamgiri, f. 8a, Halāt-i-mamāliki Mahroos Add. 6598, f. 133.
39. Gulshan-i-Dastur, f 530

In lieu of ~~their~~ his services he received 8 per cent of the revenue during the reign of Shahjahan, later it was reduced to 5 per cent.[40] During the reign of Aurangzeb there was no change in it.[41] One per cent was retained till the auditing was completed.[42] His account papers were subject to rigorous checking particularly after his dismissal or transfer. It took a great deal of time, obviously the <u>āmils</u> had to remain in the prisons for a longer duration.[43]

Are there any instances in Kashmir?

<u>Āmil</u> was assisted by a large retinue officials in his work. They were Kārkun or bitikchī, mutasadī and sehbandis. Out of these Kārkun or **bitikchī** was of considerable importance.[44] His primary function was the maintenance of

---

40. <u>A'in</u>, has not given the pay schedule of Karori. <u>Khulasatus-Siyāq</u>, f. 26; Irfan Habib, <u>The Agrarian System of Mughal India</u>, p. 289.

41. <u>Gulshan-i-Dastūr</u>, f. 536.

42. <u>Khulasatus-Siyāq</u>, f. 27; Irfan Habib, <u>The Agrarian System of Mughal India</u>, p. 289.

43. Chandhar Bhan Brahman, <u>Chār Gulshan</u>, f. 20. Mohamad Murad Jang, <u>Tuhfatul-Fuqara</u>, f. 99a.

44. P. Saran, <u>Provincial Administration of the Mughals</u>, pp. 287-8, supposed that Bitikchi was a separate official other than Kārkun. But as a matter of fact, their functions ~~of~~ were quite identical. See Irfan Habib, <u>The Agrarian System of Mughal India</u>, p. 281.

N.A. Siddiqi, <u>Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals</u>, pp. 19, 79, 85, and 86.

Sihbandis literally means soldiers or peons employed for the collection of revenue. They helped the revenue collecting authorities during harvest. Yasin's <u>Glossary of Revenue Terms</u>, f. 66.
These troopers helped jagirdārs also, and received their perquisits mainly from assignees at the rate of 4 p.c. In the <u>kh</u>ālisa lands Sihbandi charges were not imposed. <u>Gulshan-i-Dastūr</u>, f. 536b. See also ff. 523 and 526.

the account records. He received the revenue papers from the Qanūngo furnishing the details about the land of each individual cultivator village-wise.[45]

In 1597, Akbar divided the Subah into 14 divisions and two bitikchīs were appointed in each division in order to scrutinize the village records and effect the fresh assessment.[46] Kārkun was appointed on the recommendation of the Amīn.[47]

Fotadār or Khazinadār:

Fotadar was an official incharge of the paragana treasury.[48] He received the revenue from ryots either directly or through the muqaddams.[49] He was not entitled to disburse any amount without the prior sanction of the Diwān. In case of emergency, he could incur some expenditure subject to the approval of Diwān with the consent of Āmil and Kārkun.[50] ~~At the time of his appointment economic~~

---

45. A'in, II, p. 200 (N.K.). Nigār Nama Munshi, ff. 77a-78b. See also Dasturul-Amali Bekas, ff. 12-13.
46. A.N. III, pp. 726-27. See also Chapter II, Section I.
47. Nigār Nāma Munshī, ff. 77-8.
48. A'in, II, pp. 231-2.
49. Ibid. As already stated the most part of the revenue was realized in kind and as such the office was not so much important in Kashmir.
50. A'in, II, p. 231.

At the time of his appointment economic considerations were also kept in view.[50a]

Amīn or Munsif:

Literally Amīn means a trustee. But practically he had to perform multiferious duties. He was a trustee who looked after the interests of ryots, and jāgirdārs as well as of the state.[50b]

During the reign of Akbar and Jahangir, Amīn was a sarkār official, but Shahjahan appointed Amins in every mahāl which undermined the importance of the 'Amīl.[51] Hitherto amil supervised the entire paragana administration, but with the new changed arrangement the karorī only was to realize what the Amīn assessed.[52]

50a. Diwān Pasand, f. 83.

50b. Khulasatus-Siyāq, f. 18. J.N. Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 87. P. Saran, Provincial Government of the Mughals, p. 292. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 84. Haji Khairullah, Dastūrul 'Amali Jahan Kusha, 328/98. Abdus Salam Collection, AMU., Aligarh, ff. 54-5.

51. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 84.

52. Khulasatus-Siyāq, f. 18. See Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 254, also.

Amin resolved disputes arising among assignees on the demarcation of their holdings and such other disputes relating to jāgirs.[53] He maintained the following records: Mawāẓina Dah Sāla, and Tūmāri Jamaʿ Bandī, bearing the signatures of Choudharīs, Qanūngo and Qāzi. He went in person from village to village to ascertain the actual cultivated land and u'fṭada[54] in consultation with the muqaddam and the Qanūngo.[55] A copy of the papers maintained in his office was sent to the Diwān.[56]

---

53. In 1074 H there was a dispute on the demarcation of the land between Sheikh Qāsim and Mir Jáfar. Amin went in person and resolved the dispute.

    Document No. 23, Research Library, Srinagar.

    Inshai ʿĀlamgiri, 334/67.

    Sulaiman Collection, Maulana Azad Library, AMU., Aligarh.

54. Hidayatul-Qawāid, op. cit.

55. Ibid.

56. Zawābita ʿĀlamgiri, or 1641. f. 36.

    Hidayatul-Qawaʿid, op. cit.

    N.A. Siddiqi, Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals, p. 84.

Qānūngo:

It is significant to find out whether Qānūngo was a village or a paragana official. Abul-Fażl explicitly records in the A'in that there was a Qanungo in each paragana.[57] A similar official functioned in the province and was known as Qānūngo-i-Kul.[58] But a controversy has arisen on account of the significant evidences available in Bādshāhnāma of Qazvini, and Shāhjahān Nāma of Mohamad Ṣaliḥ Kumbu and the inscription on the gate of Jamia' Masjid at Srinagar, stating that there were numerous Qanungos in each village[59] and Shahjahan in 6th R.Y. ordered the dismissal of all the additional Qānūngos known as Qanūngo-i-Jz've[60] which raises the assumption that since the Qanūngoship was a hereditary right and divisible among the successors. Therefore, the number kept on increasing. In

---

57. A'in, I, p. 209.

58. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 172.
N.A. Siddiqi, Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals, pp. 87-89.

59. Qazvini, Shahjahan Nama, II, f. 268a.
Kumbu, Amli Salih, I, p. 545.
Inscription on the gate of Jamia' Masjid, dated 7th Isfandyar of Ilahi year.

60. Qazvini, Shahjahan Nama, II, f. 268a.

order to have equal share in each village the Qānūngos have obviously divided these villages among themselves. This inference is further supported by a late 18th century administrative manual also.[61]

The Qānūngo-i-Jz've continued functioning in spite of the explicit orders of Shahjahan.[62] The existence of more than one Qānūngo was an additional burden on the peasants and jāgirdars because of their extortionate exactions and fraudulant accounts,[63] which undermined the law and the sanctioned usage.

Qānūngo was considered to be a "walking dictionary" of prevailing rules, customs, traditions and practices.[64] He maintained land records pertaining to assignments, grants and khāliṣa besides the revenue returns.[65] A duplicate copy of the papers was sent to the Qānūngo-i-Kul.[66]

---

61. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 531a.
    See also Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 84.

62. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 531a.
    Lawrance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 445.

63. Qazvini, Shahjahan Nama, II, f. 268a.
    Kumbu, Amali Salih, I, p. 545.
    Abdul Hamid Shahabadi, Dastūrul-Amal, f. 4.

64. A'in, I, p. 209.
    J.N. Sarkar, Mughal Administration, pp. 76-77.

65. A'in, I, p. 209.
    J.N. Sarkar, Mughal Administration, pp. 76-77.

66. N.A. Siddiqi, Land Revenue Administration, pp. 87-89.

The Qānūngos were categorised in three grades, and their pay was fixed rupees fifty, thirty and twenty respectively in the form of Jāgir-i-Tan.[67]

Choudhari:

The Choudhari was a paragana as well as a provincial official.[68] He functioned as a representative of the villagers and head of the muqaddams.[69] The office was hereditary,[70] but sometimes it was also conferred on the incumbents.[71] It was the pleasure of the state to appoint or dismiss any Choudhari. Aurangzeb issued an order that there could not be more than two Choudharis in one paragana.[72]

---

67. A'in, I, p. 209.
    Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 532.

68. N.A. Siddiqi, Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals, p90

69. I.H. Quarashi, Mughal Administration, p. 244, suggests that the Choudhari was a village headman, which is not supported by facts.

70. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 213.

71. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 148.

72. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 292.
    S.Nurul Hasan, Zamindars under the Mughals, p. 25, printed in Journal Land Control And Social Structure in Indian History, London.

The prestige of provincial Choudhari increased tremendously, especially during the reign of Aurangzeb.[73] They played a vital role in the economic exploitation of the peasants. The state kept them informed of all the assignments, grants, transfers and appointments.[74]

Ijāradari was a common feature during the reign of Aurangzeb.[75] Choudharis entered into a league with the mustajir while farming out the khālisa land.[76]

Choudhari Mahesh Koul grew so powerful that even ṣubahdar was afraid of him.[77] He laid out a magnificient garden on the bank of Dal lake spending thousands of rupees for its beautification.[78]

---

73. P.N.K. Bamzai, A History of Kashmir, p. 401.
    Diwan Kripa Ram, Gulzar-i-Kashmir, p. 214.

74. See the revenue documents and administrative manuals of this period.
    Anand Koul, Archaeological Remains in Kashmir, p. 73.

75. Akhbārāt, 39th R.Y.,
    Waqaya Ranthumbore and Ajmir, Transcript Copy, the Department of History, AMU., Aligarh, p. 71.

76. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 534.

77. Diwan Kripa Ram, Gulzār-i-Kashmir, p. 214.
    Anand Koul, Archaeological Remains in Kashmir, p. 73.

78. Diwan Kripa Ram, Gulzar-i-Kashmir, p. 214.
    P.N.K. Bamzai, A History of Kashmir, p. 401.

Dīwān:

The Dīwān was the chief revenue and finance officer at the provincial level. His position was next to that of the Ṣubahdār.

Qāẓi Ali was the first Diwān appointed in 1591 by the Emperor Akbar.[79] He was assisted by a large retinue of officials. Qāẓi's land revenue assessment provided a base for the Mughal land revenue system in Kashmir.[80]

In 42nd year Akbar issued an order to make the Diwān directly answerable to the Emperor and his status was elevated and so he stood next to the Ṣubahdar.[81] But the Dīwān and Subahdar carried on the work without any animosity or confrontation.[82] As a matter of fact in the

---

79. A'in, II, p. 273.
Add. 7652, B.M., f. 297b.
Firishta, I, p. 268. Tabqat-i-Akbari, p. 376.
Bada'uni, Muntakhibut-Tawārikh, II, p. 381.
Ma'asir-i-Rahimi, I, pp. 924-5.
See also Chapter I for his biographical sketch.

80. A'in, II, p. 273. Add. 7852, B.M., f. 297b.

81. N.A. Siddiqi, Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals, p. 73.

82. J.N. Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 62, has remarked that Diwan was rival of Subedar. We don't come across any such evidence in Kashmir. There was substantial difference between the rank of Diwan and Subedar. Subedars never had a rank below 1000 while Diwan in many cases held the rank of 200 and not more than 1000. Mir Ahamad Khan, Diwan of Kashmir (1682), had a mansab of 500/60 Akhbarat, Rajab, 24 R.Y. Rahmat Khan was appointed in 1659 as Diwan of Kashmir with a mansab of 1000/200, Mohamad Kazim Alamgir Nama, I, p. 487. Hasan Beg had a mansab of 400/203 Akhbarat 43rd year.

absence of Ṣubedār the Dīwān discharged his duties as naib-subahdar. This inference is supported by various pieces of evidence.

Abul Faṭeḥ was Dīwān of Kashmir. During the absence of Hafizullah Khan, he functioned as the Naibi Suba for more than a year.[83] Arif Khān also discharged his services as a naib-i-suba during the subahdāri of Ali-Mardān Khān who used to stay out of the subah during the winter months.[84] Mullā Ashraf was Sad'r and Diwān. He also discharged his duties as Naib of Ibrāhim Khān,[85] 1707–8

It is also significant that pluralities of offices were conferred on some incumbents and the same person could function as the Dīwān, the Ṣad'r, the Qāẓi, and the Qānūngo-i-Kul.[86] Mulla Ashraf was Sad'r as well as Dīwān.[87] Khwaja Hāshim was Qānūngo-i-Kul and held the post of Diwān also.[88] Qazi Aslam was Qāẓi, Bakhshi, Waqa-i-Nigār and held the post of Diwān also.[89]

---

83. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 176.
84. Narain Koul Ajiz, Mukhtasar Tārikh Kashmir, f. 106.
85. Mohamad Murad Tang, Tuhfatul-Fuqara, f. 99a. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 193.
86. Akhbārāt, 26 Shaban, 43rd Year.
87. Supra 85.
88. Supra 86.
89. Ibid. Badshah Nama, Lahori, II, p. 362.

The combination of so many posts in one person would have encouraged corruption and malpractices.[90]

Provincial Dīwān was directly appointed by the Emperor on the recommendation of the Dīwān-i'Ala.[91]

As stated alone the jāgirdārs were free to administer and manage their own jāgirs according to their choice.[92] Dīwān was a link between the state and the assignee.[93] Diwān scrutinized and executed sanads and the fArmans to the assignees.[94]

The paragana officials submitted the records pertaining to revenue administration to him. He accordingly provided information to the Diwani'ala.[95] The Diwan also

---

90. Inshai-Alamgiri; Sulaiman Collection 334/67, AMU., Aligarh. op. cit.

91. Badshah Nama, Lahori, II, p. 362.
Akhbarat, 26 Shaban, 43 R.Y., Ahamad Quli Safvi, Tarikh-i-Alamgiri, f. 43a-b. Mohamad Sadiq Khan, Tarikh-i-Shahjahani, f. 90a-b.
Zawabita Alamgiri, f. 32a.

92. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, pp. 273-74.

93. Ibid. p. 294.

94. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 531b.
Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 294.

95. Halat-i-Mamāliki Mahroosa, Add. 6598, f. 146.

exercised general supervision over the revenue ministry. He could dismiss any corrupt official.[96] He took note of the arrangements for the distribution of taqāvī and seeds.[97] He resolved the disputes arising among the jāgirdārs and the mustājir.[98] The following documents were maintained in his office. Receipt of official letters and their execution, assessment and collection reports, income and expenditure papers, treasury records, grant and assignment papers and agreements and undertakings executed with the state servants and assignees.[99]

The Diwān was a mansab-holder and received jāgirs in lieu of his services.[100]

---

96. ~~Halat-i-Mamaliki Mahroosa, Add. 6598, f. 146.~~

96. Nigār Nama Munshi, ff. 69-70.

97. Mohamad Sadiq Khan, Tarikh-i-Shahjahani-wa ʿĀlamgiri, f. 97.

    Inshai Alamgiri, 334/67, Sulaiman Collection, AMU., Aligarh.

98. Gulshan-i-Dastur, 526.

99. Halāt-i-Mamāliki Mahroosa, Add. 6598,ff. 46, 132.

    Dastūr ʿAmali Bakas, f. 17.

    Khulasatus-Siyaq, National Archives, New Delhi, f. 19.

    Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 531b.

100. Tārikh-i-ʿĀlamgiri, f. 43a.

    Akhbārāt, 24, 46 R.Y.

    Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 283.

The big jāgirdārs and the princes of the royal blood who had large areas in their jāgirs almost followed an identical administrative set up. They appointed their own ʿāmils, and the requisite staff.[101]

---

101. P. Saran, The Provincial Government of the Mughals, p. 189.
Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, pp. 273-74.
N.A. Siddiqi, Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals, p. 102.

*

Revenue Assignments and Grants

In the previous sections of this and the last chapter, it has been stated that the land revenue was a tax on the produce of the land in order to carry on the day to day administration.[1] In the khalisa lands, it was collected by the officials of state and deposited in the state treasury, but in the jagir lands this right was delegated to mansabdars in lieu of certain obligations and duties which they performed for the state.[2] The mahāls in the first category were technically called khalisā and the second as jāgirs.[3]

There were two other types of jagirs known as In'ām jagir and Mashroot. In'ām jagir was conferred on some mansabdar by way of a reward for some extraordinary performance,[4] while mashroot assignment was made subject to the assignee's performing certain duties or fulfilling obligations of a specific

---

1. A'in,I,(N.K.), pp. 293-4. Beveridge has translated māl as rent. See chapter II, section I, for details.
2. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, pp.256-7.
   N.A. Siddiqi, Land Revenue Administration, pp. 77 & N, 80.
3. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System,of Mughal India, pp. 256-7; 259.
   N.A. Siddiqi, Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals, pp. 77, 80.
4. In 1622, Dilawar Khan annexed Kashtawār, and Jahangir conferred one lakh rupees the revenue of the territory to him as in'ām for one year only. Tuzuk, p. 297.

nature as elaborated in the terms and persuance of assignment subsequently.[5]

Besides, cash awards or land grants were conferred upon men of letters, eminent scholars, distinguished poets, sufis, and muslim ladies.[6] These grants were not subject to any kind of obligation. Such grants were called madad m'āsh grants.[7] The land thus was divided into three divisions, the Khālisa, jāgir and Madad M'āsh lands. Bulk of the land revenue was assigned in jāgirs and about 5 per cent pertained to Khālisa.

Qazi Ali, the Diwān of Kashmir conducted an exhaustive survey in A.D. 1591 in order to assess the land revenue.[8] He divided the Subah into 38 maḥāls.[9] Some of

---

5. Akhbārāt, 12 R.Y. Rabi II., 16th Ramzan, 44 R.Y. Shaban, 46th R.Y.

6. A'in, (Blochmann), 348-90, Documents Nos. 1a-b, 51, 18, 21, 2 7 and 5.

7. A'in, ed. (Blochmann) Vol. I, pp. 348-90. W.H. Moreland, The Agrarian System of Moslem India, p. 277. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 313. Abul Faz'l has provided us details about the sayūrgāl extend at the time of compilation of the A'in (40 R.Y.), but this column is quite blank so far as Ṣubah Kashmir is concerned. It suggests that Akbar did not confer any land or cash grant during this period.

8. Raja Tarangni, Vol. 3, tr. R.C. Dutt, p. 418.

9. Ibid. See Chapter II, Section I. A'in, II, (N.K.), pp. 273-74. Add. 7652, f. 297a.

the most fertile villages in each paragana were earmarked for khālisa.[10] The villages above Srinagar were called Sairūl Mawāziā bālā and below Srinagar Sairūl Mawāziā pāyeen.[11] The revenue of these villages was assessed at two lakhs one thousand and ninety-five kharwārs of paddy roughly about 6½ p.c. of the total revenue.[12] Meanwhile Yousf Khan Rizvi was reluctant to accept the enhanced revenue and whole of Kashmir was placed under the khālisa, but for a short period.[13]

The ratio between khālisa and jāgir almost remained the same during the reign of Jahangir and Shahjahan. But under Aurangzeb it was reduced to 3.62 per cent in 1673-74[14] and the declining trend continued. In 1699-1700 it was 2.62 per cent.[15]

During 1586 and 1627 saffron-producing area was exclusively earmarked for khālisa,[16] but later it was also parcelled out among jāgirdārs,[17] and only some portions

10. A'in, II, (N.K.), p. 273. Add. 7652, f. 247b.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid. The total revenue was kharwārs 30603050-11.
13. A.N., III, p. 627. Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, II, p.429. M.U., III, p. 319.
14. Khulasatu-Siyaq, 410/143, Subhanullah Collection, f. 32.
15. Dasturul Amali, Mullah Mohamad Ain, f. 16
(A.N., III, p. 627.)
16. A'in, I, Add. 7652. Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, II f. 42b.
17. Qazvini, III, 268a,
Kumbu, Amali Salih, II, pp. 543-4.

were retained in the khālisa.

Noushahra,[18] Punch,[19] Damyal, Karnav, Pakhli[20] and Rajouri[21] were always assigned in Jāgirs. While little Tibet, greater Tibet, and Kashtawar were assigned to the local chieftains in watan.[22] It is peculiar to note that the far-off regions which were exposed to the disturbances and upheavals, were not attached to Khāliṣa. But as a matter of fact Mahāls were usually assigned to powerful nobles.

It is also peculiar to note that the scenic spots and tourist resorts were either assigned to the princes of royal blood and ladies of haram or to umaraʻuzam.

---

18. Halati Mamalik-i-Mahroosa, Add. 6598, f. 199, revenue of Noushahra was 39037 dams. It was in the jāgir of Dāra Shukouh. It was later resumed and assigned in jagirs again. Zawabita Alamgiri, or 1641, f. 156.

19. Punch was assigned to Mir Nasrullah Arab in 1624-25 Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, III, p. 597. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 432. Waris, Badshah Nama, ff. 249-50.

20. See Chapter I, Section III. A.N. III, 565; Iqbal Nama, II, 412.

21. See Chapter I, Section III. Adabi Ālamgiri, f. 149a.

22. See Chapter I, Section II.

Ijbehāra was a place of considerable importance. The old fort was repaired by Akbar and a thānedār was posted there to administer the Marāz division.[23] The village was assigned to Prince Parvez,[24] Shahjahan assigned the jagir to Dāra Shukoh. It was in his jāgir along with Noushahra till his death,[25] and Aurangzeb assigned the jagir to Prince Muázzam.[26] Inch was assigned to Rām Dās Kachwāha by Akbar.[27] In 1622, Jahangir assigned it to Khanijahān.[28] In 1640-41, Shahjahan gave it to Islam Khan and named the pargana as Islāmabad.[29] Aurangzeb assigned it to Prince Mu'azam.[30]

Village Ṣapapūr a beautiful tourist spot famous for scenic beauty of the Manasbal lake was in the jagir of Nūrjahan Begum. In 1644-45, it was assigned to Jahan Ārā Begum.[31] One of the gardens was assigned to Dāra Shukoh.[32] Village Achaval was in the jagir of Jahan Ara Begum

---

23. Faizi Sarhindi, Akbar Nama, f. 238-39a
24. Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, Vol. III, p. 569.
25. Lahori, Badshah Nama, I, (ii), p.49; II, p.208.
    Qazvini, Badshah Nama, III, f. 327a-b.
    Kambu, Amali Salih, II, p. 331.
26. Kalimatu Taybat, f. 87.
27. Tuzuki Jahangiri, p. 313.
28. Ibid.
29. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 209.
    Kambu, Amali Salih, II, p. 331.
30. Mohamad Kazim, Alamgir Nama, II, p. 836.
31. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 195.
    Qazvini, Badshah Nama, III, f. 317.
32. Qazvini, Badshah Nama, III, f. 317.
    Sadiq Khan, Tarikh-i-Shahjahani, f. 107.

which was later assigned to Zebun-Nisa Begum[33] by Aurangzeb. Loka Bhawan was in the Ṭayūl of Aurangzeb and later it was assigned to Mohamad Mu'azam.[34]

During 1594, and 1597, entire ṣubah was given to Ahamad Beg Khan, Mohamad Quli Beg, Hamza Beg, Gird Ali, Hasan Ali Arab, and Mohamad Beg.[35] But in 1597, their jagirs were resumed, and Kashmir was assigned to Asaf Khan.[36]

It has been mentioned elswhere that the jagirs were frequently transferred and as such it is not possible to work out the holdings of such large number of jāgirdars.

It is obvious that the assignees were not necessarily posted in the same province where they had their jagirs.[37] They managed their assignments through their agents and trustees.[38]

---

33. Kambu, Amali Salih, II, p. 331.
    (ii) Mohamad Kazim, Alamgir Nama, II, p. 836.
34. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 211.
35. A.N., III, p. 654, Faizi Sarhindi, Akbarnama, f. 222a.
36. A.N. III, p. 732.
37. Waqa' Ranthambore, Wa-Ajmir, transcript copy the Department of History, AMU., Aligarh, p. 71.
38. Ruqaat Alamgiri, letter No. 175 to Asad Khan.

It appears that the agents did not fulfil the conditions faithfully, and as such the jāgirdars were put into great trouble.[39] Such a state of affairs compelled the jāgirdars to farm out their holdings to merchants who apparently were natives. The parties entered into a contract stipulating the conditions.[40] At the time of contract the farm merchant, technically called mustajir advanced some amount to the jāgirdar.[41] A lumpsum was arbitrarily fixed by the parties.[42] Mustajir appointed his own persons to collect the revenue from the tenants. They had obviously nothing to do with the betterment of the ryots and did not take steps to increase or at least maintain the

---

39 Ruqa'at-i-Alamgiri, letter no. 175 to Asad Khan. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 233.

40. Nigar Nama, Munshi, Add. 6599, f. 189. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, ff. 522-27.

N.A. Siddiqi, Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals, pp. 92-93, suggested that Ijara and Taahhud were two different types of revenue farming. In Taahhudi, the farmer was entitled to deductions effected on account of natural calamities. He was to report the increase and decrease in the revenue to the concerned officials. The Taahhudi was a government official while as Mustajir was not a state official. But the details available in Gulshan-i-Dastūr, an administrative mannual of late 18th century make us infer that the Mustajir and Muta'ahidi were synonymous. See Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 278.

41. Akhbarat, Jamadi II, 39 R.Y. Waqai Ajmir-wa-Ranthumbore, transcript copy, Department of History, AMU., Aligarh, p. 71.

42. N.A. Siddiqi, Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals, p. 92.

previous jama'. But a few mustajirs advanced taqāvi and seeds to the peasants for their own benefit.[43]

The merchants made handsome profits although the restrictions were imposed upon them not to collect more amount than stipulated in the agreement. Since jāgirs were frequently transferred, therefore, the mustajir was not sure if he could keep the leese for the stipulated period. The jāgirdārs off and on frustrated the agreements and entered into new contracts with the highest bidders.[44] Keeping in view these conditions the revenue farmer appropriated as much revenue as possible.[45] It appears the revenue farming had become wide-spread during the late 17th century. A parallel administration of the intermediaries appears to have emerged out. The ultimate result was the fall in the revenue, and ruin of the villages; it was under these circumstances that Aurangzeb passed orders to discontinue the practice of revenue farming.[46] In case of non-compliance the assignments of the jagirdars were to be resumed.[47]

---

43. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, ff, 522-3.

44. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, ff. 522-3, 525.

45. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 285.

46. Akhbarat, 37/38 R.Y., Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 285.

47. Akhbarat, Jamid, II, 39 R.Y. It appears the assignees were adamant to comply with the orders, therefore, Aurangzeb ordered to confiscate the farmed out jagirs.

We can imagin the margin of the profit accumulated by the mustajir by going through a petition submitted to Aurangzeb by the Ijāradārs for continuation of this system. They had advanced huge amounts and were not in a position to recover even a thousand rupees from their clients, but Aurangzeb did not yield and directed them to recollect from those to whom it was advanced.[48]

Ijāradārī was not only prevalent among the jāgirs, but even khālisa land was also farmed out, though rarely. The river posts and octroi-posts were also leezed out.[49] The lessees had to execute an agreement and paid the stipulated amount monthly.[50]

This system appears to have posed so many administrative, social, and economic problems; and a new class of intermediaries was created who put extra burden on the shoulders of peasantry specially. The rural economy further deteriorated and a new urban middle class made its emergence.[51] The corrupt officials entered into league with

---

48. Akhbarat, Jamid II, 39 R.Y.

49. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, ff. 522, 532a.

50. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 532a. In case the trafic remained suspended either because of , heavy snowfalls, etc. etc., the lessees were given exemption.

51. I.A. Khan, 'Middle Classes in the Mughal Empire' Presidential Address, Indian History Congress 36th Session, Aligarh. See also article, C.W.Smith, 'Middle Classes A hypothesis' published in Islamic Culture, Vol. 37, 1942.

the mustajir and they also made huge profits. Though it was expressly forbidden. No official or muqāddam, patwāri or any person connected with the land revenue was allowed to get any leese.

Ijāradārī was not only harmful to the peasantry but it effected the state exchequer as well.

Grants

Land and cash grants were bestowed upon Brahmans, Muslim theologians and men of letters even before the Mughal rule.[52] During our period these grants were known as Milk, amlāk and Suyūrghāl.[53] But the term Madadi Ma'āsh gained currency subsequently, a'ima was also used for the land grants,[54] while the cash grants were called wazifa.[55] The grants given to shrines, mosques, and madrasas were known as waq'f.[56]

A farman to this effect was issued by the emperor on the occasion of conferring this grant. Such farmans had almost a set text in which the rights and favours were noted down. These grants were granted by the state as

---

52. Jona Raja, Raja Tarangni (tr. R.C. Dutt), pp. 87-88, Shrivara, Raja Tarangni (tr. R.C. Dutt), pp. 99, 209-10.
    Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, pp. 199-200.
53. A'in, I,(n.K.),pp.140-1.Irfan Habib,The Agrarian System of Mughal India, pp. 298-9.Shirin Moosvi, Suyurghal Statistics in A'in,paper read in I.H.C. Aligarh Session, 1975.
54. In all the land grant documents the term "Madadi-Ma'āsh has been used.
55. Research Library, Srinagar, 23.
56. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, pp. 312-3 & n.

well as by the jāgirdārs to the men of religion, shrines, mosques, learned persons and muslim ladies.[57] But the jagirdars' grants were only for their own term, however, traditionally the new jagirdars allowed them to enjoy these benefits,[58] but they could not claim any kind of ownership or heriditary right. But these rights were established in 1622 by Aurangzeb.[59]

---

57. Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 115a. Nishan of Jahan Ara Begam to Sheikh Qasim, 19th R.Y. of Shahjahan, Research Library, Srinagar; Lahori, Badhshah Nama, I, pp. 332-3; Mohd Murad Teng, Tuhfatul Fuqara, f. 84a, Waqiate Kashmir, p. 136; Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, ff. 63, 125-26.

58. Research Library, Srinagar, No. 17, supports our assumption. Baba Abdul Hakim, son of Baba Abdul Rashid, was granted 5 kharwars, 8 traks of land in Madadi Ma'ash. It continued to be in the possession of his successors even after 1709. See also document no. 21, Research Library, Srinagar. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 315.

59. The above cited farmans fully endorse our statement. The sons of Baba Abdul Rashid retained the grant, not on the basis of the inheritence, but the labour which was put in while bringing the forest land under plough was taken into consideration. However, in 1709 only 100 kharwars of rice out of the produce of said grant was given to the family.

The contention of N.A. Siddiqi, Land Revenue Administration Under the Mughals, p. 125, and I.H. Qurashi, The Administration of the Mughals, p. 211, that the Madadi Ma'ash grantees enjoyed all the benefits of private property. They were entitled to dispose of or leese out their farms is not supported by the grants documents available to us. See document nos. 17, 18, 20, 21, and 50, Research Library, Srinagar. See also Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 306.

Sheikh Abdul Rashid, in his article, published in Journal of Pakistan Historical Society, Vol. 9, I, 1961, pp. 98-108, supports our inference; but partially. He opins that Madadi Ma'ash land grants were bequeathed, but the holders were not entitled to dispose of the land.

In the grant documents specific area in terms of kharwārs[60] or bighas is mentioned, in jāgirs. The officials were directed to chak or demarcate the area granted in madadi ma'āsh.[61] Both the jāgirdār and the officials did not allow any a'ima holder to cultivate any land in excess to the grant.[62]

There are some grantees who were paid in kind. But they were directed to collect the grain from specific villages and the muzariān, muqaddàman, and mutasadis were also directed to release the sanctioned quantity.[63]

---

60. Kharwār was unit of measurement and as well as of weight in Kashmir. See Chapter II, Section, III.

61. Sheikh Abdul Rashid, in his article, published in Journal of Pakistan Historical Society, Vol. 9, I, 1961, pp. 98-108, also has the same opinion, but mentions that the grants were heriditary in nature, and more stable than the jagirs.

61. Research Library Srinagar No. 21, in a land grant of one hundred kharwars granted to Musmati Jana Bibi and others descendants of Sheikh Abdul Hakim, the concerned officials are directed to demarcate the sanctioned area. Kharwar was both a unit of weight and measurement. See Chapter II, Section I.

    Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 301.

62. Research Library Document No. 23, dated 16 Shawal, 1074 H. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 302.

63. Farman of Shahjahan, to Bano wife of Mohamad Muqim in 19th R.Y. Research Library, Srinagar. Nishan of Jahan Ara Begam issued in favour of Sheikh Qasim , nephew of Sheikh Hamza, Research Library, Srinagar. See also No. 51, 5.

They were exempted from all the obligations like Wajūhat-u-Awarzat, and were not required to maintain any contingent, etc.[64]

Half of the land was granted from the culturable waste and half from the cultivated one. Sometimes whole of the grant was assigned out of culturable waste land.[65]

Subsequently, the basic nature of the grants was changed. In 5th R.Y. Shahjahan issued an order confirming hereditary rights up to 30 bighas; and if the grant exceeded 30 bighas, half of it was allowed to be retained by the heirs,[66] which was reduced to 20 bighas by Aurangzeb.[67] However, in 34 R.Y. the grantees were given hereditary rights.[68]

The grants assigned to shrines, mosques, tombs, etc. were administered by mutawalis.[69] The income from these

---

64. Farman of Shahjahan to Bano. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 299.

65. Research Library Srinagar Document No. 17. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 299.

66. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 304.

67. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 531; Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 306.

68. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 306.

69. Mohammad Murad, Tuhfatul-Fuqara, f. 84a. Research Library No. 20.
Income of some orchards and land was reserved for some renowned muslim establishments in Mecca, and Mashhad Sharif; Mohammad Aslam Mun'ami, Gouhari Alam, p. 272; I.H. Qurashi, The Mughal Administration, pp suggests that a Mutawali was appointed in each paragana, but it is not supported by facts. It appears that each shrine had a separate Mutawali who managed the waqaf, etc.

grants and Nazūrāt was utilized for the maintenance of the shrines, free kitchens, and the rest was distributed among the mujawiran.

No rigidity or strict conformity to the observance of traditional rules was maintained in the matter of madadi ma'āsh grants the piety, eminence of scholarship, the social status and economic condition of the grantees were taken into consideration. The assumption is supported by the grant documents mentioned above.

The deserving persons put forward their representations through the Qāzi and the Ṣad'r jzv or provincial sadr.[70] He submitted these applications to the Ṣadru-Ṣadur with his endorsement. Sadru-sadur presented the applications to the emperor and sanctions were granted. The grant documents were endorsed by the sadru-sadur on the backside and a summary called zamen was also scribed.[71]

Sometimes, the nobles, zamindars and influencial people submitted applications on behalf of the sufis, saints and their descendants for the sanction of such grants.[72] The ladies represented their cases through vakils.[73]

---

70. Research Library Srinagar No. 38.
71. See the grant documents preserved in Research Library Srinagar Nos. 1, 5, 7, 21, 18, 50, 51. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, pp. 298-99.
72. Research Library Srinagar No. 18 and 20.
73. Research Library Srinagar No. 29. Land grants assigned to ladies were termed as musmiyati jagirs.

The documents were checked periodically and duly endorsed by the officials concerned.

It has been already mentioned that the revenue department was administered by Diwan-i-Subah, but the madadi ma'ash grants were supervised by the ministry of religious affairs; but subedar also could confiscate the madadi ma'ash grants.[74]

It is significant to note that madadi ma'ash grants are mostly found in the Sairul Mawazia (villages earmarked for khalisa from each paragana) Nāgām, Adwin and Kuthār.

Besides jagirs and grants, Altamgha jagirs were also conferred on various nobles. Such a jagir was for the first time granted to Malik Haidar, historian, architect of Kashmir by Jahangir sometime in 9th R.Y.[75]

---

74. Nawab Saif Khan, Subedar of Kashmir, at the time of tashihah "periodical scrutiny" confiscated the land grant of Muhammad Murad a descendant of Sheikh Hamza Makhdoomi. See document no. 51, Research Library, Srinagar.

75. Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 115a.
Malik Haidar and Malik Ali had been exiled by Akbar after the annexation along with Yousf Shah Chak. At the time of the murder of Sher Afghan both Malik Ali and Malik Haidar won the sympathies of Mehrun-Nisa Begam by extending her a helping hand. Soon after her marriage with Jahangir, Malik brothers were granted Al Tamgha jagir and zamindari in the village, Chadoora. Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 213a; Baharistan-i-Shahi, f. 210b.

Another evidence regarding Al-tamgha grant is confirmed by a farman of Shahjahan to Asafudaula preserved in Tārikh-i-Hasan.[76]

On the basis of both these pieces of evidence it is obvious that Al-tamgha grants were permanent in nature and without any kind of obligations. These grants were almost similar to madadi ma'āsh grants.[77]

---

76. Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 115a-b. Asaf Khan laid out Nishat Bagh in Kashmir. A canal which supplied water to the garden was granted in Al-tamgha

77. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 312.

*

CHAPTER - IV

ṢUBAHDĀR AND HIS FUNCTIONS

The Ṣubahdār was vice-regent of the emperor;[1] and carried on the administration of the Ṣubah on his behalf in accordance with the rules and regulations setforth from time to time. His appointment was made under an imperial farmān called farmāni sabti, in which directives, and guidelines were laid down.[2] There were no hard and fast rules prescribed for the appointment or the duration of the office. No doubt the resourcefulness and capability of the probable candidates was duly considered.[3] The previous knowledge of the person about the Ṣubah and its affairs appears to have been taken into consideration. In support of this proposition of a few examples may be cited. Each such Ṣubahdār had been to Kashmir in one capacity or the other prior to his appointment. Mirza ʿAli

---

1. A'in, II, pp. 223-25.
   Diwān Pasand, p. 30621; f. 86.
2. Diwān Pasand, p. 30621, f. 86.
   P. Saran, Provincial Government of the Mughals, p. 176.
3. Nigār Nāma Munshi, f. 20.
   Dastūrul-ʿAmali Shahjahāni, 653/71,
   Sulaiman Collection, Maulana Azad Library, AMU., Aligarh, f. 180.

Akbar was appointed Ṣubahdār in 1605-6.[4] He had been to Kashmir in 1592 as a commander of Aḥadis to deal with the Yādgār episode.[5] In 1622 Hāshim Khān was appointed Ṣubahdār of Kashmir. His father, Mohammad Qāsim Khān, was formerly Ṣubahdār of Kashmir and Hāshim Khān accompanied him.[5a] Similarly Saif Khān[6] was in Kashmir along with his father, Ṭarbeyaṭ Khān, Ṣubahdār of Kashmir; and later on he too was also appointed Subahdār of Kashmir. Ibrāhim Khān was also in Kashmir during the governorship of his father. Innayṭullāh

---

4. Mirza Ali Beg was resident of Badakhshān. He came to India and was given a mansab of 500 A'in, I, 163 (N.K.), Kewal Ram, Tazkiratul-Umarā, f. 194. In 46 R.Y. he was given a mansab of 2000, and in 1605-6, Jahangir raised his mansab to 4000, Tuzuk, 11, and appointed him Subahdar of Kashmir in 1015/1605, Tuzuk, p. 35, Kewal Ram, Tazkiratul-Umarā, f. 194, Ma'asirul-Umara, III, pp. 355-56. He died in 1616, Bahāristāni Shāhi, ff. 207a-8b. Jagiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 118, Tarikh-i-Hashmat-i-Kashmir, f. 47, and Gouhar-i-Ālam, p. 253, have wrongly mentioned his date of appointment 1013H = 1604-5, and according to Mohamad Murad Teng, Tuhfatul Fuqara, f. 77a, 1014 1605-6., Iqbal Nama Jahāngiri, III, p. 516.

5. See Chapter I, Section I.

5a. Tuzuk, p. 97.

6. Saif-ud-Din Mahmūd alias Faqirullah was son of Tarbiyat Khān, Ma'asirul-Umarā, I, pp. 486-87. In his 30th regnal year, Shahjahan appointed him Superintendent of Qur-Khana with the rank of 700/100. On account of his role against Maharaja Jaswant Singh, Aurangzeb raised his mansab to 1500/700 and granted him the title of Saif Khan. In June, 1661, he was appointed Subahdar of Kashmir, Mohammad Kazim, Ālamgīr Nama, p. 832. In the 9th regnal year, he was appointed Ṣubahdār of Multan, in 14th R.Y. again appointed Ṣubahdar of Kashmir. During his visit in 1663-4, he was rewarded for having defeated Murād Khān of Askardu, Tarikh-i-Ālamgiri, ff. 53-54. Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri (Sarkar's Translation), p. 34. Ma'asirul Umara, II, p. 482. For details of his biography, see Ma'asirul Umara, II, pp. 479-485.

Khān, son of Saif Khān had been in Kashmir for a very long time and was latter appointed as Ṣubahdār of Kashmir.[7]

During the reign of Shahjahān, and Aurangzeb, we notice that the same persons were reappointed frequently e.g. Zafar Khān Aḥsan was appointed by Shahjāhan in August 1632 and again in the 21st regnal year, he was re-appointed by the same monarch.[8]

ʿAli Mardān Khān was appointed Ṣubahdār in the 14th regnal year and was again elevated to the same

---

7. Waqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 211.

8. Lahori, Badshāh Nama, I, p. 432.
   Zafar Khān Ahsan was son of Abul-Hasan; in 1632 Abul-Hasan was appointed Subahdar of Kashmir, Lāhori, Badshah Nama, I, p. 432, and Zafar Khān acted as his Nāib. After his death, he was appointed Ṣubahdār of Kashmir in March 1633, Lahori, Badshah Nama, I, p. 474. In 1642, he was again appointed replacing Tarbiyat Khān, Badshah Nama, II, pp. 282-3. His mansab was increased to 3000/1500, Ma'asirul-Umara, II, p.763, but he was removed in 1645 from Ṣubahdāri because of his unjust attitude towards Sunnis, Dabistan-i-Mazahib, p. 191, for his detailed biography, see Ma'asirul-Umara, II, pp. 756-763.

post in 31st regnal year.[9] During the reign of Aurangzeb the reappointments were more frequent. Saif Khān was for the first time appointed in 7th regnal year, second time, in 13th regnal year, while Ibrahim Khān was appointed firstly in 4th regnal year, second time in 21st regnal year, and third time in 45th regnal year, and fourth time in 1709.[10] Nawāzish Khān was given charge of the Ṣubah for the first time in 1707, second time in 1709,[11] while Inayatullāh Khān remained in the

9. ʿAli Mardān Khān was son of Ganj ʿAli Khān an old servant of Shah Abbās I. After the death of his father, he was given the title of Baba-Sani and appointed him governor of Qandahar. After the death of Shah Abbās II, Shah Safi did not favour the nobles of Shah Abbās. ʿAli Mardān Khān approached Shahjahan and surrendered the fort to him, Ma'asirul Umara, II, pp. 795-806. In absentia he was granted a mansab of 5000/z.s in April, 1639 in token of a reward, Kumbu, Amali Salih, II, p. 289. Meanwhile, he proceeded to Lahore, and Mu'tamad Khān, Mīr Bakhshi and Tarbiyat Khan delivered him to the Court. The same year as a token of reward, Kashmir was assigned to him, and Zafar Khan was transferred, Kumbu, Amali Salih, II, p. 298, Dastūrul Âmali Shahjahāni, 673/51, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh, ff. 180-3.

   In October 1640, his mansab was further increased to 7000/7000 and Punjab was also assigned to him, Lahori, Badshah Nāma, II, p. 163. In 1641, he was ~~given 7000/7000 and Punjab was also assigned to him, Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 163. In 1641, he was~~ given 7000/7000 out of it 3000x2hx3 horse. In March 1655, he was again appointed as a Ṣubahdār of Kashmir, and held the post for seven years, Waqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 140-1.

10. Supra f.n.6.

11. Nawāzish Khān Mukhtār Beg, son of Islām Khān Roomi, was given a mansab of 1000 in 19 R.Y. by Aurangzeb, and in 24th he was given the title of Nawāzish Khān and raised to the Foujdari of Mandou in 24th R.Y. In 49 R.Y, his mansab was increased to 1000, Kewal Ram, Tazkirat-ul-Umara, f. 163, Ma'asirul-Umara, I, pp. 246-47.

office from 1711-12, second term during 1712-13, third term from 1717 to 1720, fourth term from 1724 to 25.[12] Normally, the duration of the office did not exceed three to four years.[13] During our period, 35 governors were appointed for a period of 122 years; holding the post for an average of $3\frac{1}{3}$ years.[14] However, some of the Ṣubahdārs remained in the office for a period of one to two years, while some of them remained in the office for more than seven years. ʿI'teqād Khān was appointed in 1622 and retained the office until 1632.[15] ʿAli Mardān Khān was Ṣubahdār for 11 years; Ibrāhim Khan held the post for 13 years (8+5); Zafar Khān remained in office for 7 years.

In the matter of appointment the racial factor seems to have been of little consequence though on an analysis it may be inferred that the Irānīs were predominant, followed by Ṭurānis. Only one Indian Muslim, Hafizullāh Khān was conferred the job, and no non-Muslim was ever elevated to the

---

12. Ma'asirul-Umāra, II, pp. 828-32, for his detailed life history.
13. Gouhari ʿĀlam, p. 269. P. Saran, Provincial Administration under the Mughals, p. 177
14. See Appendix 'B'.
15. ʿI'teqād Khān was son of ʿI'tamādudaula. He was appointed Ṣubahdār of Kashmir in 17th R.Y. Tuzuk, p. 348; Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, III, p. 580, and remained in the office till August 1632, Lahori, Badshāh Nāma, I, p. 432. R.K. Parmu is incorrect in putting his date of transfer 1634, A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, p. 303n. He won the bad name in Kashmir for imposing oppressive tax on the peasants, orchard owners and even boatmen. See Inscription on the gate of Jamiaʿ Masjid, Srinagar, Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 125; Gouhari ʿĀlam, p. 261.

office. Out of 35 Ṣubahdārs, 23 were Irānis and only 12 Tūrānis. It is also peculiar to note that Ṣubahdāri of Kashmir was never assigned to any prince except Murād, he too was removed within one year,[16] while the Ṣubahdāri of other provinces was frequently assigned to the princes.[17]

During the absence of the Ṣubahdār, his duty was performed by his Naib,[18] who was nominated by the Subahdar himself subject to the imperial confirmation. From 1586 to 1707, the Ṣubahdārs remained mostly in the Ṣubāh, while after 1707, they mostly stayed outside and occasionally visited the province of their posting.[19] For brief durations of absence of the Ṣubahdār, Dīwān or Ṣad'r was left incharge of the Ṣubāh, while for longer periods a separate mansabdar was given the

---

16. Murād Bakhash was appointed in 1647 and transferred in February, 1648. Waris, Badshah Nama, I, f. 6, Tarikh-i-Shahjahani, f. 149a. Author of Gouhari 'Alam, f. 289, has wrongly mentioned the date of his appointment 1051H/1641-42. See also Dr M. Athar Ali's article, 'Provincial Governors under Shahjahan' pp. 80-92, Medieval India-A Miscellany, III, p. 86., and Mohamad Murād, Tuhfatul-F'uqarā, f. 81a-b.

17. Dr M. Athar Ali, 'Provincial Governors under Shahjahan' Medieval India-A Miscellany, III, pp. 80-92.

18. Ibid.

See also Appendix 'B'.

19. R.K. Parmu, A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, pp. 399-400.

charge.[20] The absence of the Ṣubahdār and the rule by proxy led to the deterioration of the economy and administration, to which a crushing blow was given by the Afghāns in 1752.[21]

At the time of appointment enormous presents were offered to the emperor, and the same process was repeated at the time of transfers, and promotions. Costly gifts worth lakhs of rupees and comprising rarities of Kashmir were presented on such an occasion to the emperor.[22] Dress of honour, and gifts of scimtars and swords were bestowed upon Ṣubahdār designate.[23]

---

20. See Chapter II, Section III.

 'Ali Mardān was appointed Ṣubahdār of Kashmir and Kābul. He designated Abdul Gani Beg, one of his relatives, as Nā'ib-i-Subah.

 During 1707 to 1752, every Ṣubahdār nominated his deputy, who carried on the administration on behalf of the Subahdār. See R.K. Parmu, A History of Muslim Rule, etc. pp. 333-338.

 I.H. Qurashi is not correct in his statement that the provincial governorship was assigned to Naib only in case the Prince was a minor, Mughal Administration, etc. pp. 228-29.

 During the period 1709 to 1752, more than 25 Naibs were appointed while the number of Subāhdārs did not exceed 20. See Appendix 'B'.

21. Birbal Kāchroo, Majmū-ut-Tawārikh-i-Kashmir, ff. 195a-b.

22. Lahori, Badshāh Nama, I, pp. 229, 448; II, pp. 163, 165, 48.

23. Lahori, Badshāh Nama, I, pp. 432; II, pp. 130, 133, 223, 149, 415, 420.
 Kumbu, 'Amali Salih, II, p. 457.
 Waris, Badshah Nama, I, f. 138; II. ff. 292, 327.
 Muhammad Kazim, 'Ālamgirnāma, 832, 965.
 Ādab-i-'Ālāmgiri, f. 274b.

At the time of his arrival in Kashmir, manṣabdārs, state officials, zamindārs, and respectable persons welcomed the Ṣubahdār. Saif Khān, Ibrāhim Khān, and 'Ali Mardān Khān, directed the above mentioned officials and others to accord their warm welcome at Herapūra.[24] Saif Khān was very keen about their presence. Subsequently, it became a conventional, and every incumbent was warmly received.[25]

Functions and Duties

As an administrative and executive head, the Ṣubahdār looked after all branches of revenue, police, military affairs, judiciary, and general administration.[26] The Mughal emperors paid periodical visits to the Ṣubah. The Ṣubahdār used to receive the emperor at the out-skirts of the Ṣubāh, and at the time of departure accompanied him as far as the boarder of the Ṣubah to give him a befitting send-off.[27]

---

24. Muhammad Murād, Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, f. 87b.
Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 164.
Gouhari 'Alam, p. 286.
Ameerud Din, Pakhliwāl, Tahqeeqat-i-Ameeri, f. 169a.

25. Ruq'āt, Acc. No. 2776, f. 15. (Research Library, Srinagar).

26. Hidayatul Qauā'id, f. 42a.
Diwān Pasand, ff. 85-7.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, ff. 536-37a.
Halat-i-Mamalik-i-Mahrūsa, ff. 144-6.

27. A.N., III, p. 564. Tuzuk, p. 294.
Iqbal Nama, III, p. 580.
Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, pp. 17, 191.
Tarikh-i-Ālamgiri, ff. 53a-54b.

He remained in the camp throughout the stay of the emperor and arranged food, fodder and transport facilities for the imperial camp. The roads, and inns were superbly equipped to meet the requirements of the emperor's comfort during the travel.[28] Feasts, festivities, illuminations and jashns were arranged.[29]

Under the Sultans the kingdom of Kashmir in its heyday comprised the Little Tibet, Greater Tibet, Punch, Pakhli, Kashtuār, Rajouri, and adjacent smaller principalities.[30] Subsequently, such far off regions fell apart from the Centre, but soon after the annexation of Kashmir in 1586, the Mughals followed an expansionist policy in all directions. These expeditions were expedited and commanded by the Ṣubahdārs;[31] occasionally helped and reinforced by the Ṣubahdārs of

---

28. Faizi, Akbar Nama; f. 242a.
    Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, pp. 20, 410.
    Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 140-41.
    Birbal Kachroo, Majmu-ut-Tawarikh, f. 147b.
    Bernier, Travels in Mughal India, p. 395.

29. Sadiq Khan, Tarikh-i-Shahjahani, wa Ālamgiri, p. 131b.

30. See Chapter I, Section II.

31. Ibid.
    Gouhari Ālam, pp. 294, 99.
    Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 93.

contiguous provinces.[32]

On the internal front the refractory zamindars, and rebels were suppressed with a heavy hand; every step was taken to maintain law and order by the Ṣubahdārs.[33]

The outposts were fully garrisoned with the soldiers and supervised by the Ṣubahdār.[34] The Forts of Rajouri, Noushahra,[35] Bijbehara,[36] and Tibet Khurd[37] were left in the charge of thānedars, who were under the direct control of the Ṣubahdārs.[38] Apparently, the Ṣubahdār of

---

32. During the Tibet compaign a contingent from Kabul was diverted to Kashmir, A.N., III, p. 823. Similarly, Mohamad Ain Khān, Subahdār of Lahore, was directed to arrest the chieftan of Kashtawar in case he was reluctant to pay the tribute, Akhbārāt 13th R.Y. See also Akhbārāt 46 R.Y.

33. Bahāristān-i-Shahi, f. 205a.
Icbal Nama, Vol. II, p. 452
Akhbārāt 46th R.Y.
Waqi'āt-i-Kashmir, p. 218.
J.N. Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 52.
S.R. Sharma, Mughal Government & Administration, p. 239.

34. Faizi, Akbar Nama, ff. 238b-39a, Tuzuk, p. 317.
Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jammu, etc. p. 613.
Hutickson, History of the Punjab Hill States, II, pp. 685-6.

35. Tuzuk, p. 317.
Kumbu, 'Amali Salih, II, p. 15.
Inshai Har Karan, f. 17.
Hashmatullah Khān, Tarikh-i-Jammu, etc. p. 613.
Insha Collection, Acc. No. 2675, ff. 28-29, Research Library, Srinagar.

36. Faizi, Akbar Nama, ff. 238b-39a.
Desideri, Travels (tr. Fillipe di Filipi), p. 75.

37. Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jammu, etc. p. 613.

38. Tuzuk, p. 317.

Kashmir used to be the Qil'adār of a Srinagar fort also.[39] It has been already pointed out that there was not separate post of Provincial Foujdār in Kashmir. The Ṣubahdār was incharge of military and police administration also. We can suggest that the Foujdārs of Marāj, Kamrāj, Punch, Pakhli, and Noushahra, were his subordinates. The Foujdāri of Noushahra, and Chakla Jammu was sometimes assigned to the Ṣubahdār.[40] He supervised the troops of the manṣabdārs stationed in the Ṣubah.[41] He used to rush contingents to the war-front whenever he received emperor's command to do so.[42]

---

39. Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 52n. Mohammad Din Fouq, Safar Nama Kashmir, p. 64.

40. Raja Darshani, f. 185.
Safdar Khan was appointed Foujdār of Jammu also by Jahangir. Hafizullah Khan was appointed also Foujdār of Jamu, Akhbārāt, 33 R.Y.
Ruqa'āt, a collection of letters of the reign of Aurangzeb preserved in S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, f. 45a.

41. Akhbārāt, 43, 47 R.Y.
Waqiāt-i-Asad Begi, f. 7a.
S.R. Sharma, Mughal Government & Administration, p. 238.
P. Saran, Provincial Administration, p. 187.

42. Mohamad Sadiq, Tarikh-i-Shahjahani-wa-Alamgiri, f. 197b.
Waqiāt-i-Asad Begi, f. 7a.
S.R. Sharma, Mughal Government & Administration, p. 238.

Thus the maintenance of peace both internal and external and the efficient running of the provincial administrative machinery was the prime responsibility of the Ṣubedār.

The annual collection of the peshkash from the autonomous chieftains and zamindārs was carried on by the Ṣubahdār and it was deposited in the provincial treasury.[43] The autonomous chieftains attended his Court very often or kept their respective vakils at the provincial Court.[44]

Administration of Justice:

As a matter of fact there was a separate department for the administration of justice, but the Ṣubahdār also held regular Courts and discharged the judicial functions.[45] Criminal, and civil cases of complicated natur

---

43. Akhbārāt, Muharam, 13th R.Y.
J.N. Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 52.
S.R. Sharma, Mughal Government & Administration, p. 239.

44. Akhbarat, 12 Rabi I, 43 R.Y., Rajab 46th R.Y.

45. Lahori, Badhshah Nama, I, p. 139.
Mohamad Murād, Tuhfatul-Fuqara, f. 85b, 91a.
S.R. Sharma, Mughal Government & Administration, p. 239.
P. Saran, The Provincial Government of the Mughal p. 185.
Gouhari-Alam, pp. 269, 284.
The statement of I.H. Qurashi that the Governor u not allowed to intervene in the administration of justice is not born out by facts: The Administra of Mughal Empire in India, p. 229.

were mainly lodged in his Court. The cases pertaining to Sabi-Suhāba were also mainly filed in his Court, but the decisions in such cases were given by the Qāẓi and the Muftī:[46]

In 1665 Sheikh Abdul Rashid filed a suit against Husain Malik brother of Malik Haidar Chādoora in the Court of the Ṣubahdār.[47] Another suit was filed in the Court of Saif Khān by a Hindu against Khwāja Sādiq Naqashbandi. After a summary trial the khwāja was flogged to death.[48] Another case against Abdus-Shakoor was also filed in the Court of Ibrāhim Khān. He was alleged to have used indecent words against the Caliphs.[49] One more case about a mosque of a village named Ārwaṭ was also filed in the Court of Ibrāhim Khān.[50]

The Ṣubahdār was not entitled to overrule the decision of the Qāẓi. In the case of Abdul Rashid cited above, the Ṣubahdār wanted to save Malik Husain, but the decision of the Qāẓi was executed under the directions of the

---

46. Mohamad Murād Tang, Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, ff. 91-2. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 165.
47. Mohammad Murād Tang, Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, ff. 91-2.
48. Mohammad Murād, Tuhfatul-Fuqārā, f. 87b. Gouhar-i-Ālam, pp. 286-7.
49. Gouhar-i-Ālam, pp. 291-2. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 175.
50. Gouhar-i-Ālam, pp. 284-5.

Emperor;[51] again one Rustum Māntoo of Soibugh village was executed even against the consent of the Ṣubahdār.[52]

However, the more enterprising and influencial Ṣubahdārs encroached upon the power and authority of other officials by reducing the Ṣad'r, the Qāẓi, the Muftī, and the Kotwāl to mere non-entities.[53] I'tamād Khān who was Subahdar during 1661-62, and Fāzil Khān were strict and impartial in the dispensation of justice. They decided cases daily after summary trials and enquiries.[54]

Social Service

Existing concepts of social service and government departments apart, there was sufficient scope for works of public weal and common welfare in Mughal Kashmir particularly under the stewardship of the Ṣubahdār. The relief measures in the event of natural calamities like floods, famines, droughts, earthquakes, fires, and epidemics, were launched under the supervision of Ṣubahdārs. In support of our

---

51. Mohammad Murād Tang, Tuhfatul-Fuqarā; ff.63b,88b. Gouhari-Ālam, pp. 287-8

52. Mohamad Murād, Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, ff. 97-98b. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 189

53. Gohhar-i-Ālam, p. 284. Mohamad Murād Tang, Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, f. 85b.

54. Gouhar-i-Ālam, p. 284.

statement we can advance a few significant evidences too. In 1597, a terrible famine spread all over the Ṣubah.[55] Akbar directed the Ṣubahdār to open a large number of langars or free supply kitchens. In 1635-36, a heavy flood innundated the entire rice fields in the months of July and August. With the result that the entire crop was damaged and thousands of people left Kashmir.[56] Huge amounts were released by the Emperor to the Ṣubahdār for relief measures.[57] Ṭarbiyaṭ Khān did not discharge his duty efficiently while making disbursement of the relief funds. He was removed and Ẕafar Khān was appointed in his place.[58] He supervised the work in person and demanded additional grant of one lakh of rupees to be distributed among the peasants to expedite the agricultural operations.[59] In 1675, thousands of houses along with Jamiaᶜ Masjid were gutted the outbreak of a sudden fire. The Ṣubāhdār

---

55. A.N., III, p. 727. Iqbal Nama, II, pp. 453-4. Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 166.

56. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, pp. 309-10. Kumbu, Amal-i-Salih, II, pp. 328-29. Sadiq Khan, Tarikh-i-Shahjahani-wa-Alamgiri, f. 53a. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 140.

57. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, pp. 309-10. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 140. Kumbu, Amal-i-Salih, II, p. 360.

58. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, pp. 282-3. Mohamad Murād Tang, Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, f. 81b.

59. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, pp. 309-10.

was directed to advance one hundred rupees to each affected family.[60]

Ṣubahdār and Land Revenue Administration:

In Chapter II, Section III, we discussed the functioning of the land revenue organization. The Dīwān was the head of the revenue and finance departments.[61] But the *madadi ma'āsh* grants were administered by the Ṣad'r.[62] ~~But~~ The Ṣubahdār as a matter of fact was a coordinator of various administrative divisions.

In regard to the position of the Ṣubahdār viz-a-viz the Dīwān, Jadunath Sarkar held the view that the Dīwān was in no way a subordinate official but a rival of the Ṣubahdār.[63] But a closer examination of the source material suggests a different inference. Undoubtedly the Dīwān was the head of revenue department but not a rival of Ṣubahdār and held a position next to the Ṣubahdār in the administrative heirarchy.[64]

---

60. Khalil Mirjanpuri, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 106b.
61. See Chapter II, Section III.
    See P. Saran, *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, p. 189.
62. See Chapter II, Section IV.
63. Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 53.
64. Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 53.
    P. Saran, *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, pp. 190-91.

To quote a few instances based on original sources would lead us to the same conclusion. It is significant to note that a Diwān was appointed as Naib-i-Ṣubahdār but not vice verca.[65] Secondly, the mansab of any Diwān did not exceed the manṣab of a Ṣubahdār. Thirdly, various reports and statements were submitted from the Court of Diwān to the Court of the Ṣubahdār.[66] The jāgirdārs and grant-holders presented their documents to the Ṣubahdār and the Ṣubahdār periodically checked and verified the sanads.[67] He recommended for further increase of the manṣab, decreas or cancellation of the grants and jāgirs, while we do not find such powers vested in the Diwān. He was to help the smooth and successful collection of revenue, take care to get more and more land under the plough. Dilāwar Khān, 'Ali Mardan Khan, Saif Khan and Fāẓil Khān took vigorous steps to

---

65. P. Saran observes that the Subahdār and Diwān were official of equal rank and very rarely a Diwān was appointed as a Ṣubahdār, p. 182, but on pages 195-96, he states that Diwān was not equal to the status of Ṣubahdār but inferior to him. Provincial Administration under the Mughals, pp. 181-82; Gouhar-i-'Alam, p. 299.

66. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 537a-b.
Hālāt-i-Mamālik-i-Mahrūsa, ff. 144-45.

67. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 164.
Various land grant documents preserved in the Research Library, Srinagar, and S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, bear the seals of the Ṣubahdārs.
See also Chapter III, ~~Section~~ IV.

improve the agararian conditions.[68]

Thus a Ṣubahdār had a supervisory control over land revenue administration as well.

As an administrative head, the Ṣubahdār recommended the appointments, promotions, transfers within the Ṣubah and even the demotion of various petty officials.[69] He appointed the clerical staff in parganās or delegated his powers to the ʿāmils.[70] At the time of promotions the experience and seniority of the officials was also kept in view,[71] and no weightage was given to racial or communal considerations. Almost entirely the revenue and finance department was manned by the Hindus. The prestigeous posts of Peshkārs and

---

68. Akhbārāt, 44 Regnal Year.
    Diwān Pasand, f. 92.
    Gulshan-i-Dastūr, ff. 307b-8a
    Gouhar-i-ʿĀlam, pp. 271, 289.
    Muhammad Murād, Tuhfatul-Fuqrā, ff. 81, 87.
    Ameeruddin, Pakhliwāl, Tahqeeqāt-i-Ameeri, f. 169a; Waqiat-i-Kashmīr, p. 164.
    Abdul Qadir Jaisi, Hashmat-i-Kashmir, ff. 51a-b.
    Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 52.

69. Akhbārāt, Rabi I, 43 and 46 R.Y.
    Fazil Khan's recommendations for the grant of mansabs to Kashmiris, See Akhbārāt, Rab. I, 43 R.Y.
    Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 49.

70. Diwān Pasand, ff. 86, 92.
    P. Saran, Provincial Government under the Mughals, p.178.

71. Diwān Pasand, f. 92.

Chaudharis were filled up by this class. Tota Rām,[72] Mahādev Koul,[73] Sudharshan Pandith[74] and Choudhurī Mahēsh[75] were some of the famous officials in this category. Thus the multigarious duties and responsibilities of the Subahdār may be fairly and elaborately detailed by a perusal of the papers and registers maintained by his Court and statements furnished by the lower offices. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, an administrative mannual of 18th century gives us a detailed account of such documents.[76] The following papers and documents were submitted to his office:[77]

72. Tota Rām was Peshkār of Yousf Khān Rizvi, A.N., III, pp. 617-18.

73. Mahādev Koul was Peshkār of 'Ali Mardān Khān. He was burnt alive during a food riot. On this occasion, Mohammad Yousf Kawoosa Sad'r Suba Kashmir and other nobles were summoned to Court to explain their position.

74. Sudharshan Pandith was Peshkār of Anayatullah Khān.

75. Choudhuri Mahēsh was Choudhuri Kul during the reign of Aurangzeb.
Birbal Kachroo, Majmoo-ut-Tawārikh, f. 417a.
Document No. 31, Research Library, Srinagar.
See also Lawrance, Valley of Kashmir, pp. 401-3.

76. Nath Panditt, Gulshan Dastūr, ff. 536a-37b.
See also Hālāt-i-Mamālik-i-Mahrūsa, ff. 144-45.

77. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 536a.

1. Paragana-wise annual schedule of Hāl-i-Hāṣil by the Dīwān, (2) the pay schedule of the clerks, and accountants, descriptive rolls of the manṣabdārs stating transfers, promotions, and assignments from the Bakhshī, (3) the descriptive rolls regarding the grants, the periodical checking reports, new grant documents, and cancellation of previous grants from the office of the provincial Ṣad'r,[78] (4) the descriptive roll of zamindārs from the clerk incharge of zamindārs bearing the seat of darogha kachēri, (5) the lists giving the details of income and expenditure regarding the state-owned kārkhānas from the office of Dīwānī Buyūtāt, (6) the annual report furnishing the details about the income from Mahāl Mīr Baḥarī, (7) income statements of Mahāli Dāmdārī,[79] and mahal Par-i-Kulange[80] from the paragana Qānungos, (9) the income and expenditure statements of the mint from Musharif-i-Dar'ulzarb, (10) statement pertaining to jewellery market from the Daroga Bāzār, (11) the Hāli Hāṣil figures, of Saffron with the remarks regarding the cause of decrease in production if any from the musharif, (12) Hāl-i-Hāṣil figures of

---

78. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 536b.

79. Kashmiri fowlers earned a great deal of money from bird catching especially during the winter months. A tax was imposed on them. A'in, II, p. 175.

80. The coloured feathers of okar and other birds were collected from the bird sancturies of Matal Hāmā and were purchased by the state for decoration of headgeers and imperial standars. Mainly feathers of cranes and fowls were collected. A'in, II, p. 174 (N.K.). Approximately 10700 feathers were collected annually. Tuzuk, p. 315. This village is not identified. It should be perhaps Hokar Sar, which is still famous for winter fowl.

mahāl Singhārā, (13) the rate lists of grains, vegetables and other articles from the office of the Nirakh-Nauis, (13) information regarding the functioning of various courts from the musharif, (14) Haqiqat Hāl-i-Hāsil of In'ām and mashroot land grants, (15) the descriptive roll of the troopers and horses maintained by the manṣabdārs of the Ṣuba, (16) parganā-wise statistical information of the Jam'a dāmī of jāgīrs, khālisā, and the paibāqī lands, (17) the expenditure acrued on Nalvjāt submitted to the centre, (18) the demand list of mansabdars, (19) monthly collection and disbursement of revenue parganā-wise from the office of Dīwān.[81]

Keeping in view the wide range of the above mentioned statements and papers, we can safely infer that the Ṣubahdār controlled the executive, revenue, judicial, police and military administration as falling within his jurisdiction. He was to safeguard the interests of the state as well as of the subjects. He looked after the administration of the river ports, state karkhāns, mines, mints, markets, and such other things.

Limitations to the Ṣubahdār's authority and imperial checks

We have mentioned above that the Ṣubahdār was governed by the rules and regulations setforth from time to time by the centre and did not enjoy unlimited power as is the

81. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 536b.

contention of Vincent Smith.[82] The subahdārs were guided by certain norms and principles. The Ṣubah of Kashmir remained cut off from the rest of the Empire during winter-months, and as such a Ṣubahdār could have wielded unlimited power, but this was not the case. The maintenance of law and order both internally and externally was his prime duty, but he could not wage war, enter into a treaty or sue for peace without the imperial directive.[83] In September, 1637, Zafar Khān subdued Little Ṭibet, and installed Mohammad Murad, the vakil of Abdāl in his place. This act of audacity on the part of the Ṣubahdār was resented to by Shahjahān, and the Ṣubahdār was reprimanded.[84] In A.D. 1672, the Ṣubahdār sought the permission from Aurangzeb to use force against the Raja of Kashṭawār who was reluctant to pay the annual pēshkash.[85]

---

82. V. Smith, Akbar the Great Mogal, p. 383.
    See for a contrary view point, Forster, From Bengal to India by Sea, II, p. 26.

83. P. Saran, Provincial Administration, p. 188.
    S.R. Sharma contradicts his own statement that "He put down local rebellions, carried out minor military operations on his own in the provinces or the neighbouring areas." In this very passage that "He could not make war on a feudatory state in the province or an independent prince in the neighbourhood without the permission of the Emperor." Mughal Government and Provincial Administration, p. 239.

84. Lahori, Badshahnama, II, p. 286.
    R.K. Parmu, A History of Muslim rule in Kashmir, p.316, has wrongly mentioned the date of conquest 1632.
    Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 286.
    Kumbu, Amal-i-Salih, III, p. 262.

85. Akhbārāt, Muharam, 13th R.Y.

A net work of imperial spies, Sawānih Nigārs, Khufiya Nawis and Harkārās kept a close watch on the movements of the Ṣubāh officials.[86] Even minutest and trival matters were reported to the Court. Ibrāhīm Khān,[87] Saif Khān,[88] and Ṭarbiyaṭ Khān[89] were sacked on the basis of the reports submitted by the Khufiya Nawīs.

The periodical visits of the emperos provided ample opportunities to people to approach them to get their grievances redressed.[89] We should keep this in mind that the nobles and manṣab holders owed allegiance to the emperors and as such were a natural check to the Ṣubahdārs. During 1587-88, one Totā Rām lodged a complaint against Yousf Khān Rizvī in persuance of which Qāzi Ali was appointed to investigate into the embezzlement case.[90] Similarly Malik Ali and Malik Ḥaidar were

---

86. Ruqʿāt-i-Ālamgīrī, 655. Sulaiman Collection, AMU., f. 127a.
    Ruqaʿāt-i-Ālamgīrī, p. 31, letter No. 116, ed. M.A. Rahman, Kanpur,
    Gouhar-i-Ālam, pp. 287-8, 293, Akhbārāt, 45 R.Y.
    Anayat Khān, Ahkāmi Ālamgiri, p. 211.
87. Sadiq Khan, Tarikh-i-Shahjahani, f. 45b.
88. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 116.
    Abdul Qadir Jaisi, Hashmat-i-Kashmir, f. 51a.
    Sadiq Khān, Tarikh-i-Shahjahani, f. 98a.
    Kumbu, Amal-i-Salih, II, pp. 360-61.
    Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 140.
89. Tuzuk, p. 149.
    Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 211b.
90. A.N. III, 617-18.

always a threat to the Ṣubahdārs.[91] Dilāwar Khān, Safdar Khān and Ahamad Beg Khān were transferred by Jahāngīr, because of complaints against them.[92] I'taqād Khān and Ṭarbiyaṭ Khān were removed by Shahjahān, and Ibrāhim Khān, Saif Khān, Muzafar Khān, and Abū Naṣar Khān were transferred by Aurangzeb on the basis of complaints filed by the people.

In spite of checks and controls, some of the Ṣubahdārs were to a greater extend oppressive and harsh.[93] I'ṭaqād Khān imposed taxes on orchards, levied 60 dāms on each village which was yielding a revenue of 400 kharuārs or more, and oppressive tax on boatmen was also enhanced by him,[94] but in 1632 Shahjahān remitted all these taxes.

---

91. Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 215a.

92. Tuzuk, p. 149.
Bahāristan-i-Shāhi, f. 212a.
Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, ff. 215a, 216b, 217a.

93. Suka, Raja Taranoni, (tr. R.C. Dutt), p. 424, states the atrocities of the servants of Yousf Khan Rizvi done to the common people. Mirza Ali Akbar Shahi during his Subahdari was not less oppressive, Bahāristan-i-Shāhi, f. 211b.
ʿAli Mardān Khān himself was an ideal Ṣubahdār but his Uzbek and Tūrānī servants were very cruel and behaved just like bruts, Waqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 141.
Gouhari Alam, p. 273.

94. Qazvini, Badshah Nāma, II, ff. 267-68.
See the Inscription on the gate of Jamiaʿ Masjid, Srinagar.

Abū Naṣar Khān, and his brother, Muzafar Khān, imposed again several taxes on agriculturists, common people, and artisans.[95] They corrupted even the secret writers. The Khufiyā Nawīs also tried to squeeze the common people. During the period of the later Mughals, the Nā'ib Ṣubahdārs also followed suit. It is significant that this state of affairs manifested itself only when the Central authority was on the decline and weakness and instability were rampant in the body-politic. From 1622 till the death of Jahāngir, Nur Jahan's power had tremendousl increased over the affairs of the empire, and there was none to check the atrocities of I'taqād Khān who was a close relative of Nūr Jahān.[96] Similarly, Aurangzeb's presence in the Deccan adversely affected the administrative machinery in the North which roused the venality and corruption of the Ṣubahdārs.

---

95. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 189.

96. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, pp. 171-84.
For the political power of Nūr Jahan after 1622, see Nūr Jahan and Junta, S. Nurul Hasan, Cyclostyled article in the Research Library, Department of History, AMU., Aligarh.
For details on Kashmir under the later Mughals, see article of Dr Z.U. Malik, "The Subah of Kashmir under the later Mughals" published in Medieval India-A Miscellany, Vol. II, pp. 249-263.
For a general study of the period, see Irwin Later Mughals and J.N. Sarkar, Downfall of the Mughal Empire, also.

*

LIST OF ṢUBEHDĀRS APPOINTED FROM 1586-1752

S.No.	Name of Ṣubehdār	Racial Extraction	Rank at the time of appointment	Year of appointment	Name of Nā'ibi Ṣubehdār (if any)	Sources
1	Moḥammad Qāsim Khān	Irāni	3000	July 1587	-	A'in, I, p. 160, A.N.III, p. 496; M.U, III, pp.62-66.
2	Yousuf Khān Rizvi	Irāni	2000	1587	Yādgār Mirzā who revolted the same year.	A'in, I, p. 160; Muntakhib-ut-Tawārikh, II, p. 364. M.U.III, pp. 314-16.
3	Moḥammad Quli Khān	Irāni	1500/600	1594-95		A.N., III, p.654; Kewal Ram, f. 200; MU., II, p. 186, III, pp.342-44.
4	Āṣaf Khān (Qawāmu-ud-Din Jáfar Beg)	Irāni	2500	1597-98		A'in, I, p.161 (Blochmann tr.), p.452; A.N., III, p. 732. Faizi, Akbar Nama, f. 242a; Kewal Ram, f.47.
			JEHANGIR			
✓5	Mirza Ali Akbar Khān	Tūrāni	4000	1606		Tuzuk, p. 11; Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri, f. 37. Kewal Ram, f. 194.
6	Nawāb Qulīch Khān	Tūrāni	800/500	1607		Tuzuk, 53, 79; Baharistān-i-Shāhi, f. 211. Waqiát-i-Kashmir, p. 123.
7	Ṣafdar Khān alias Hashim Khān, son of Qāsim Khān (latter was given the title of Safshikan Khān)	Irāni	3000/2000	1612		Tuzuk, p. 97; M.U., II, pp. 736-738. Waqiát-i-Kashmir, p.123.

8	Aḥamad Beg Khān	Tūrāni	2500/1500	1615-16		Tuzuk, pp. 194, 233; Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 124. M.U., I. pp. 126-27.
9	Dilāwar Khān Kākar	Tūrāni	4000/3500	1618		Tuzuk, pp. 225, 311; Iqbal Nama, III, p. 529. M.U., II, pp. 9-14; Kewal Ram, ff. 62-63.
10	Irādaṭ Khān	Irāni	1000/500	1620		Tuzuk, pp. 314, 332; Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 124. M.U., I, pp. 174-80.
11	Ítiqād Khān	Irāni	4000/3000	1622		Tuzuk, pp. 335, 348, 366; Iqbal Nama, III, p. 580. M.U., I, pp. 180-1; Lahori, I, p. 432.
				SHAHJAHAN'S REIGN		
12	Khwājā Abul-Ḥasan	Irāni	6000/6000	1632	Ẕafar Khān	Kumbu, I, p. 493.
13	Ẕafar Khān	Irāni	3000/2000	1632-3		Lahori, I, p. 474.
		Re-appointed 2nd time		1644-45		Dabistān-i-Mazāhib, p. 191.
14	Ắli Mardān Khān	Irāni	7000/7000	1638-39	Ắli Bēg	Lahori, II, pp. 125-26; Kumbu, II, pp. 298, 300, 337. Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhi, f. 62b. M.U., II, pp. 84-85.
			Reappointed 2nd term	1639	Zulqadar Khān 2000/1600	
15	Shāh Qulī Khān	Tūrāni	3000/2000	January 1641		Lahori, II, pp. 223; Kumboh, II, p.337
16	Tarbiyat Khān	Tūrāni	2500/1500	1642		Lahori, II, pp. 225, 282-3; Kumboh, II, pp. 338, 360.
17	Murād Bakhash	Prince	12000/9000	1647		Wāris, I, f. 6.
18	Husain Bēg Khān	Irāni	1500/1000	1648		Wāris, I, f. 36; Nuskha-[illegible] [AHWALI] Shahi, f. 62a.
19	Lashkar Khan alias Ashraf Khan	Tūrāni	3000/2500	Sept.1658		Mohammad Kāzim, p. 195.

AURANGZEB

20	I'tamād Khān alias Ashraf Khān	Irāni	2000/500	Sept.1658	Ashraf Khān	Mohammad Kāzim, p. 196. Nārāin Koul 'Ājiz, p.105a. M.U., I, pp. 272-74.
21	Ibrāhim Khān	Irāni	5000/5000	1661		Mohammad Kāzim, p. 426; Storia, II, p. 220.
			2nd term	1677-78		Nārāin Koul Ājiz, p. 105a; M.U., I, pp. 295-301.
			3rd term	1702-1705		Mir'at-i-Ahamadi, p. 357; Akhbārāt, Jamadi I, 44 R.Y.
22	Islām Khān alias Mir Ziya-ud-Dīn	Ṭūrāni	5000/3000	1661		'Ālamgir Nāma, p. 634; Nārāin Koul 'Ājiz, p. 105a. M.U., I, pp. 217-20. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 164. Gouhar-i-'Ālam, p. 285.
23	Saif Khān	Ṭūrāni	1500/700	1665	I term	'Alamgir Nama, p. 832. Nārāin Koul Ājiz, p. 105a. M.U., II, pp. 489-93.
				1671-72	II term	
24	Mubāriz Khān	Ṭūrāni	2500/2000	May 1669		'Ālamgir Nama, p. 957. Ma'Asir-i-Ālamgīrī, p. 53. Akhbārāt, 21 Rabi II, 12 R.Y. Narain Koul 'Ājiz, p. 105a. M.U., III, pp. 595-96.
25	Iftikhār Khān	Irāni	2000/1000	15.9.1671	Mir Sultān Ḥusain	Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgiri, p. 69. Nārāin Koul Ājiz, p. 105a. M.U., I, pp. 252-5.
26	Qawām-ud-Dīn Khān	Irāni	3000/2500	29.5.1676		Ma'asir-i-Ālamgiri, p. 92. Storia, II, p. 237. Nārāin Koul 'Ājiz, p. 105a. M.U., III, p. 109.
27	Ḥafizullāh Khān	Indian	3000/2000	1687-88		Akhbārāt, Ṣafar, 33 R.Y. Nārāin Koul 'Ājiz, p. 105a. M.U., III, pp. 171-77.
28	Muzaffar Khān alias Moḥammad Baqā	Irāni	-	1691		Birbal Kāchroo, Nārāin Koul 'Ājiz, p. 105a.

29	Abū Naṣar Khān	Irāni	3000/2500	1694	Abū Fateḥ	Nārain Koul 'Ājiz, p. 105a. Gouhar-i-'Ālam, p. 294. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 189; M.U., I, pp.292-3.
30	Fāzil Khān Burhān-ud-Din	Irāni	2500/1200	1697	Mīr Ābdul Rahīm 300/200	Akhbārāt, 29 Muharam, 45 R.Y., Sādiq Khān, Tarikh-i-'Alamgiri, f. 168b.; Ma'asir-i-~~Jahangiri~~ 'Ālamgiri, p. 235; Nārain Koul Ājiz, p. 106a; M.U., III, pp. 34-38.
31	Nawāzish Khān alias Mukhtār Bēg	Ṭūrāni	2500/2500 (500x2-3b) 2nd term	1706 1711	Musharaf Khān	Gouhar-i-'Ālam, p. 299; M.U., I, pp.246-47.

LATTER MUGHALS

32	Jáfar Khān	Irāni	6000/6000 (1000x2-3b)	1709	Ārif Khān Abdullah Khān Dehbedī	M.U., I, pp. 531-35; Nārain Koul 'Ājiz, f. 105b; Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 210-11.
33	Ibrāhim Khān alias Āli Mardān Khān	Irāni	5000/5000	1709	"	M.U., I, pp. 295-301.
34	Inãyaṭullāh Khān	Kashmiri	1500/250	1711	Amānaṭ Khān Musharaf Khān (only for three months)	M.U., II, pp. 828-32; Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 240-41.
			2nd term	1712-13		
			3rd term	1717-20		
			4th term	1724-25		
35	Sa'ādaṭ Khān alias Saiyed Ḥusain Khān	Ṭūrāni	6000/5000	1713-1717	Āli Moḥamad Khān Mīr Aḥmad Khān	M.U., II, pp. 524-27. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir.

36	Abdul Ṣamad Khān alias Saifudaulā	Tūrāni	7000/7000	1721-23	Monim Khān 1720 Abdul Barkāt Khān 1721 Ārif Khān 1722 Najeeb Khān 1723	M.U., II, pp. 514-17. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 234-35.
37	Ázam Khān	Irāni	4000/4000	1723-24		Wāqiát-i-Kashmir, pp. 235-36. M.U., I, pp. 247-53
38	Áqidaṭ Khān	Ṭūrāni		1725-1727	Abul Barkāt Khān	Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 242.
39	'Āghar Khān son of Imām Quli Khān	Ṭūrāni	3500/3000	1727-1729	"	M.U., I, pp. 274-77. Wāqiát-i-Kashmir, p. 242
40	Sayed Mir Khufi alias Amīr Khān	Ṭūrāni	5000/5000 (3000x2-3b)	1729-36	Iḥtirām Khān 1731-36	M.U., II, pp. 42-56, 476-77. Waqiát-i-Kashmir, p. 247.
41	Dil Dilīr Khān	Indian	5000/5000 (3000x2b-3)	1736-37	Jalil-ud-Din Khan (1737-3)	Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 247. M.U., II, pp. 42-56.
42	Fakhrudaulah	-	6000/6000	1737-1738	Qāẓi Khān	Wāqiát-i-Kashmir, p. 250.
43	Inayiṭullāh Khān II, son of Inyaṭullāh Khān I	Kashmiri	~~1738-~~	1738-1740	Hisāmud-Din-Khān 1738 Ábul Barkāṭ Khān 1738-44.	M.U., I, pp. 310-21.
44	Asadullah Khān alias Muhammad Ibrāhim	Indian	6000/6000	1740-1744	"	Waqiat-e-Kashmir, 251
45	Mir Muhammad Muqīm Sa'ādaṭ Khān Abū Manṣūr Khān	Irāni	2000/1000	1745-48	Jan-Niṣār Khān 1745 Sher Jang	Waqiat-e-Kashmir p. 251 ...iri, p. ~~251~~.
46	Quli Khān	–	–	1751-52	(AFGHAN RULE STARTS)	Gouhari Álam, pp. 291-92.

CHAPTER V

JUDICIAL AND POLICE ADMINISTRATION

Judiciary

The Mughal annexation of Kashmir ushered in significant changes in the various spheres of the administrative set up of the Ṣubāh but the judicial administration was retained substantially on the traditional lines. As a matter of fact, the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmir, had practically paved the way for the introduction of Islamic Institutions like Shaikhul-Islām, Qāzi, Mir'adl and the like long before the Mughal conquest.[1] But it was during the Mughal period that institution of the Sheikhul-Islām lost its significance and its place was taken by the provincial Qāẓi.[2]

The Qāẓiul-quẓāṭ appointed the Qāẓis of the parganahs and towns in the Sultanate. Mir a'dl was appointed in Srinagar, the capital city, and he functioned as a semi-judicial officer and a deputy of the Qāzi-ul-Quzāṭ.[3]

---

1. Malik Haidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, ff. 159b, 160a. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir under the Sultāns, pp. 2001,207.
2. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir under the Sultāns, p. 207.
3. Malik Haidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, ff. 159b-60a. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir under the Sultāns, pp. 200-1.

The bulk of population were followers of the Hanafia school and were governed by its laws.[4]

The Mughal annexation, virtually did not effect the working of the system. As a matter of fact, the governing principles were of the same shariat law and so the legal aspect of the judicial system was identical under the Mughal as before. Yet regional usage and traditional values did influence the system to an appreciable extent.

The judiciary during our period was not alienated from the executive. Theoretically the basic and primary duty of the ruler and his agents was to save the subject from the clutches of the oppressors.[5] Therefore, each official right from the Ṣubahdār down to the petty parganah officials were entitled to administer justice together with their executive responsibilities.

The judicial powers of the Ṣubahdār have been already discussed in the previous chapter. He was both an administrative head and a chief judicial officer within the Subāh.[6]

The jurisdiction of the Diwān was essentially limited to the revenue cases.[7]

---

4. Tarikh-i-Rashidi, (tr. N.Elias), p. 436.
5. Ibni Hasan, Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, pp. 308-309.
6. See Chapter IV.
7. See Chapter II, Section, IV.

The Qāẓi

In the judicial administration the institution of Qāẓi was of considerable importance, and the Qāẓi played a significant role in the provincial administration though his importance decreased during the Mughal rule.[8] Still the Qāẓi occupied third place in the administrative heirarchy after the Ṣubahdār and the Dīwān.[9]

There were no hard and fast rules for the appointment of the Qāẓi.[10] The family background, the academic qualifications and keen intellect were kept in view at the time of his appointment. Qāẓi Muhammad Ṣāliḥ, son of Qāzi Moosā, was appointed by Akbar soon after annexation.[11] Qāzi Salih was succeeded by Qāzi Abul Qāsim. He was recommended by Qāzi for this post.[12] He was replaced by Qazi Abdullah Zahgīr

---

8. See Kashmir under the Sultans, pp. 2001-1, Mohibbul Hasan, for the Qāẓi during the Sultanate period.

9. Zameeruddin Siddiqi, 'Institution of Qāzi under the Mughals', Medieval ~~Miscellany~~ India-A Miscellany, Vol. I, pp. 1-20.

10. Ibni Hasan, Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, pp. 310-12.

11. Qāzi Moosa was Qāzi during the reign of Yousf Shah Chak. His son, Yaqoob Chak, put him to death on account of his refusal to include the name of ʿAli in prayer call. Malik Ḥaidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f.195a-b
Waqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 123.

12. Qazi Abul Qāsim was son of Qāzi Jamal Syāl Kōtī. He was a famous saint and scholar of his time. Qāzi Sal was the tutor of Abul Qāsim also.
Waqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 134, 148-50.

His appointment was also made on account of his intelligence and ready-wit.[13] After his death, Qāẓi Abul Qāsim, son of Qāẓi Mullā Mohammad Raẓā, was appointed on the basis of his qualification;[14] Qāẓi Mohammad Muḥsin was also appointed on this post on account of his family background. He was a relative of Qāẓi Abul Qāsim.[15]

There were no rules fixed for the duration of the office. It depended upon the integrity and sourcefulness of the person. Qāẓi Abdul Karim held the post of Qāzi for twenty four years during the reign of Aurangzeb,[16] while some of the Qazis were removed after a couple of years only.

Functions and Duties

Abul Faẓl had laid down the following directives to be followed by the Qāẓi, in the chapter A'in-i-Mir'adl wa-Qazi.[17]

---

13. Waqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 148-9.
14. Waqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 166.
    Goohar-i-'Ālam, p. 289.
15. Waqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 192.
16. Qāẓi Abdul Karim was relative of Maulana Mohammad Yousf Kawoosa. He was a pupil of Maulvi Abul Fateḥ Kaloo. After the transfer of Mohamad Yousf, he was appointed the Qāẓi, and remained in the office till the last years of the Aurangzeb's reign.
    Waqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 215.
17. A'in, (N.K.) I, p. 197.

"Though it is the immediate duty of a monarch to receive compalints and dispense justice, yet it is not possible for one person to do everything, so the King delegated his powers to some others."[18] Thus obviously he was to administer justice and redress the grievances of the oppressed.

A code of justice in consonance with the idials of Akbar was prepared and the Qāẓis were to administer justice and investigate the cases according to the same rules.

The Qāẓi should not decide the cases barely on the basis of oaths and the statements of the witnesses or on the production of an undertaking. He should apply his intellect and wisdom and take all the facts into consideration to his utmost satisfaction; he should himself pronounce the judgement.[19]

The charity grants were also distributed through the Qāẓi among the ʿUlamā and needy people.[20]

Appointment & Qualifications

A Qāẓi should possess all the best qualities of a judge. He should be well-versed in the Islamic jurisprudence.

---

18. A'in, I, (N.K.), p. 197.
    See also The Administration of Justice, Muhammad Akbar, p. 15, Lahore, 1948.
19. A'in, I, (N.K.), p. 197.
20. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 250.

Honesty and integrity should be the aim of his life. He should refrain from mixing with the common people, should not accept the invitation of all and sundary, and in no case should accept the presents, etc. from any person.[21]

The Qazi held his Court five days a week, attended the Court of the Ṣubahdār once a week but Friday was observed as a holiday.[22] There was no territorial or executive jurisdiction of the Courts in the modern sense of the term. So there was nothing to prevent any one to approach the Qāẓi's Court.[23] There were Qāẓis in each parganah and the towns. The village Qāẓi led the prayers, and attended the Nikah ceremonies. He was a teacher and some of them issued decrees to the villagers. Qazi of Sopore was of considerable importance. During the reign of Aurangzeb, the Qāzi was appointed to the vassal state of Kashṭawār as well.[25]

Complicated cases were usually filed in his Court, while cases of ordinary nature were decided in the Courts of the Kotwāl and the thanedars.[26] Several categories of cases were disposed after summary trials, so no written proceedings of them were maintained.[27] Moreover, judicial proceedings and details

---

21. Hidayatullah Bihari, Hidayitul-Qawāid, f. 115a.
22. Mirât-i-Ahamadi, p. 174.
23. J.N. Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 99.
24. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 135; Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 296.
25. Hashmatullah Khan, Tārikh-i-Jammu, etc. p. 214.
26. P. Saran, Provincial Administration of the Mughals, pp. 231-2.
27. Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 95.

of adjucation in respect of civil and criminal cases are not traceable while such details are available from the records pertaining to the Ṣubāhs of Ajmer, Deccan, etc. which perhaps may be explained in view of devastation caused by the Afghan and the Sikh invasions of Kashmir in which many records perished, therefore, the exact definition of the powers, functions and jurisdiction of the Qāzis' offices becomes problematic.

The appointment of the provincial Qāẓi made by the emperor in his discretion without any recommendation of the Ṣubahdār or Qāzi-ul-Quzāt.[28] He was given a high mansab and sufficient madad-i-ma'āsh grant so as to keep him free from all financial burdens. Cash awards were also given to them.[29]

Qāzi was assisted by the Mufti and Mir'adl. Some times, a Na'ib-i-Qāzi was also appointed by Qāzi.[30]

The secular type cases of Hindus and Muslims were also decided by the Qāẓi. But the suits pertaining to the personal law were decided according to the ways and methods

---

28. P. Saran, Provincial Administration under the Mughals, pp. 231-33. See for detailed and the contrary views the article of Zameeruddin Siddiqi, 'The Institution of Qazi under the Mughals', Medieval India-A Miscellany, Vol. I, pp. 1-20.

The assertion of Jadunath Sarkar that the provincial Qāzi was appointed by the Qāzi-ul-Quzat, Mughal Administration, p. 96, is not supported by the facts. The appointments stated above were made by the emperors, and not by the Qāzi-ulQūzat.

29. Waris, Badshah Nama, II, f. 272.

30. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 211.

sanctioned by the religious precepts followed by litigants. In 1586, an order was passed that the cases of Hindus should be decided by the Panditha and not by Qāzis.[31] Jahangir appointed Srikanth as a "Qāzi of Hindus",[32] but any evidence of any other Pandith was appointed after the death of Srikanth is lacking.

Mufti

Mufti was not an official, but it appears the Qāzi sought the advice of learned theologians in order to settle the complicated cases.[33] We do not find any evidence of the appointment of Mufti. There were usually more than one Muftis in the city of Srinagar alone.[34] The Mufti was simply one who elucidated or expounded a law point;[35] and his advice was sought on certain occasions only.[36] This institution had become hereditary in nature,[37] and the senior member of the

---

31. P. Saran, Provincial Government under the Mughals, p. 375.
32. Dabistān-i-Mazāhib, pp. 194-95.
33. P. Saran, Provincial Administration of the Mughals, pp. 345-46.
    Mufti was called also Vakil-i Shará, Akhbārāt, 46 Regnal Year.
34. Waqiát-i-Kashmir, pp. 168, 189.
    P. Saran, Provincial Administration of the Mughals, p. 345.
35. Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 32.
36. Ibni Hasan states that the presence of a Mufti was no essential if Qāzi was well qualified. Ibni Hasan, Central Structure of Mughal Empire, pp. 314-15.
37. Waqiát-i-Kashmir, pp. 189, 222.
    Mohammad Murād Teng, Tuhfat-ul-Fuqarā, f. 83a.

family was called Mufti 'Azam.[38] Even the expert theologians and scholars could also issue Futwā (legal pronouncement).[39] The people approached them to seek their advice in order to know what is lawful and what is unlawful.[40]

Some of the famous Muftis who rose to the prominence were Mulla Yousf Chackak,[41], Mulla Abdul Razak,[42] Mulla Mohammad Tāhir,[43] Mulla Sheikh Ahamad,[44] Mulla Mohammad Ashraf[45] and Mohammad Murād Naqashbandi.[46]

Mir 'Adl

This institution was also introduced in Kashmir by the Sultans.[47] Mir'adl was appointed by the Qāzi, and he tabled the cases which were filed in the Court of Qāzi.[48]

---

38. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 243.
39. Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 296.
40. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 187.
Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 296.
41. Mulla Yousf Chachak was a disciple of Khwāja Khawand Mahmood and Mulla Fāzil, & Mulla Abdul Razak were his contemporaries, Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 148.
42. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 168, 169.
43. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 168, 169.
44. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 168.
45. Akhbārāt, 46 R.Y.
46. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 222-223.
47. Malik Haider, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, ff. 159b, 160a.
48. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir under the Sultans, pp.200-1.
I.H. Qureshi, assumes that Mir'adl was appointed in most important cities, is not born out by facts. The Administration of the Mughal Empire, p. 191.

The assertion of P. Saran regarding the post of Mir'adl is that the post was combined with that of the Qāzi and there was no such independent institution.[49] In support of his thesis, he putsforth the following arguments that in regnal year of Akbar, the Empire was divided into twelve provinces, and the following officers were appointed in each province:

1. a Sipah Sālār
2. a Diwān
3. a Bakhshi
4. a Mir'adl
5. a Ṣadr
6. a Koṭwāl
7. a Mīr Bahr
8. a Waqiá Navīs

Since there is no mention of a Qāẓi, so it can be conjectured that the Mir'adl, and Qāzi was the same institution.[50] Furthermore he assumes that the office of the Sadr and Qazi were not separate, but only one and the same office.[51]

But both of his assertions are not supported by facts. Abdul Fazl explicitly has laid down the rules and instructions for Qāzi and Mir'adl separately,[52] and again

Incomplete

Argue it out?

---

49. P. Saran, The Provincial Government of the Mughals, pp. 348-50.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid.
52. A'in, I, (N.K.), p. 197.
See also Ibni Hasan, Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, p. 322.

Faujdar and his functions

The protection of life and property of the subjects was equally important for the peace, tranquility, and the stability of the state. Therefore, every effort was made to have a close watch over the law and order situation both internally and externally. The vassal chieftains were responsible to maintain peace within their territory. The entire area under the direct administration of the Ṣubahdār was divided into a number of divisions and each division was entrusted to an official known as faujdār.[1] These territorial faujdārs were subordinate to the Ṣubahdār. The territorial limits of a faujdārī varied from place to place.[2] Some of the faujdāris stretched over a parganah as pargana Dachan and Khawarpora, and Darve-wa Karnave, while in some case, faujdārī limits extended over a few parganas like faujdāri Kāmrāj.[3] There were sixteen parganās in Kamrāj division.[4] Rajouri,

---

1. A'in, I, (N.K.), pp. 196-97.
2. S.R. Sharma presumes that every sarkar was assigned to one faujdār, Mughal Government and Administration, p.243, but it was not a fact so far the Ṣubāh of Kashmir was concerned.
3. N.A. Siddiqi, incorporating Siyāq Nama, Nand Ram Kāyisth, states that a new faujdāri in Chakla Faizabad was created during the reign of Shahjahan. I have not been able to trace out the newly created Chakla Faizabad in Sarkar Kashmir, which was assigned to a faujdar. There is no mention of this , neither in Narain Koul Ajiz's Tārikh-i-Kashmir, which was compiled in 1709, nor in Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, written in 1748. "Medieval India Quarterly, Vol. 4, 1961, p. 25. Since the Siyaq Nama was written in Bihar, and the details essentially pertain to the same province. Pargana Fatehpur of Faizabad sarkar is in this very province. No Chakla of this name was ever created in the province of Kashmir.
(ii) In 1586, Mohib Ali was appointed Faujdar of parganah Dachanpara and Khawarpara, Baharistan-i-Shahi, f. 205a.
4. A'in, II, pp. 177-78. The whole division had only one faujdar, Ruqa'at, S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, f. 17a.

Noushahra, and Bhimber were separate faujdāris, but sometimes, all the three faujdāris were assigned to one official.[5] The faujdārs of Rajouri, and Noushahra, used to be officials of high rank, while the rest of them were of lower ranks.[6]

The Subah of Kashmir comprised five divisions viz., Kashmir, Punch, Pakhli, Kashtawār, Little Tibet, and Great Tibet.[7] The number of paraganahs increased from 38 to 56 during this period.[8] It was divided into the following faujdāris - Kamrāj,[9] Maraj,[10] Dārve-wa Karnāve,[11] Rajouri,[12] Noushahra,[13] Dachanpārā, and Khawarpārā,[14] Poonch, Kāshyāl, and Damyāl.[15]

---

5. Mohammad Kazim, ʿĀlamgir Nama, p. 195.
6. Saeed Khān was appointed in 1068H/Faujdār of Bhimber and Noushahra. Mohamad Kazim, ʿĀlamgir Nama, p. 195.
P. Saran, Provincial Administration of the Mughals, pp. 227, 229.
7. See Chapter II, Section I.
8. See Appendix 'B'.
9. Ruqa'at, S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, f. 17a.
10. Ruqa'at, S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, f. 19a.
11. Waqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 218.
12. Mohamad Kazim, ʿĀlamgir Nama, p. 195.
13. Mohammad Kazim, ʿĀlamgir Nama, p. 195.
14. Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 285a.
15. Waris, Badshāh Nama, II, ff. 249-50.

evidence of Dasturūl Ámal-i-Ālamgiri negates his assertion. The manual explicitly treats the Qāẓi, Mīr'adl and Mufti separately.[53] According to this manual the Mīr'adl was to investigate and dispose of cases which were filed in his Court. In case there was some difficulty, he should refer the case to the Qāẓi.[54] Again the institution of Ṣadr was a separate institution and had distinct functions.[55] It was not necessary that the same person should be the Ṣadr and Qāẓi. There are so many examples to illustrate it further.

Qāẓi Ṣāliḥ was appointed Qāẓi of Kashmir by Akbar soon after annexation and Mulla Habīb was Mir'adl during this period. During the reign of Shahjahān, Qāẓi Abdullah was Qāzi of Ṣubah, and Mulla Hāji Bandey was Mir'adl and Mullá Muhammad Tāḥir was holding the post of Ṣadr.[57] Thus it is obvious that the Ṣadr, Qazi and Mir'adl were three separate posts. However, sometimes, the same person was appointed as Qāẓi and Mufti or Qāẓi and Mir'adl.[58]

---

53. Dastūrul Ámal-i-Ālamgiri, p. 6599, f. 38.
54. Dastūrul Ámal-i-Ālamgiri, p. 6599, f. 38.
55. See Chapter II, Section III
56. Waqiát-i-Kashmir, p. 134.
57. Waqiát-i-Kashmir, pp. 168, 189.
58. Mohammad Ashraf was Mufti as well as Ṣadr in 46th R.Y. of Aurangzeb. He hold the mansab of Amin Jaziya also. Akhbārāt, 46 R.Y. During 1727-1729, Maulana Inayatullah was serving as Mir'adl and Daroga Adalat as well.

It appears that the strategic importance of the region was kept in view while determining the area of a faujdārī.[16] Since the annexation the rebels had taken shelter in the mountainous regions of Kamrāj, Marāg, Dachanpārā, and Dachan Khawūra regions.[17] These regions entrusted to faujdārs in order to keep a close watch over the activities of the rebels, and recalcitrant zamindārs.[18] Rajouri, Noushahra, and Bhimber had great strategic importance. These posts were, as a matter of fact, gateways of Kashmir.[19] Above all, these regions were inhabited by turbulant chieftains who always created trouble.[20] So separate faujdārs were appointed in these regions. Poonch, Kāshāl, and Damyāl formed one faujdari. In 12R, 1064, faujdar Jabar Quli was transferred and Murād Quli Gakhar was appointed as faujdār.[21] The faujdārs were appointed by the Emperor under a farman bearing the seal and signatures of the Bakhshi-ul-Mulk.[22]

---

16. P. Saran, Provincial Administration of the Mughals, p. 224.
    Hutichson, History of the Punjab Hill States, Vol. II, pp. 685-86.
17. Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 205a.
18. Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 205a.
    Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 218.
19. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p. 294.
20. See Chapter, I, Section II.
21. Waris, Badshah Nama, II, ff. 249-50.
22. A'in, I, pp. 196-97.
    P. Saran, Provincial Administration of the Mughals, p. 229.

Functions

The primary duty of a faujdār was to protect the common people from the tyranies of thieves and miscreants, and put down rebellious rebels of the Subāh.[23]

The maintenance of law and order, care and safety of the highways, and vigilant watch over the activities of thieves and robbers.[24]

His help was also sought by the revenue collectors in case the recalcitrant zamindārs or ryots were reluctant to pay the revenue. But he was advised not to use force in the first instance.[25] He also watched the jagirdārs and zamindārs if they ~~remained to be~~ collected the illegal cesses from the tenants.[26] He maintained a large contingent,[27] and had to be always vigilant and mobile.

---

23. A'in, I, pp. 196-97.
    Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 205a.
    Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 218. See also Nigār-Nama Munshi, f. 68.
    N.A. Siddiqi has also elaborated the duties and function in his book, Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals, pp. 24, 36, 61, and 113-114. For a general study, see J.N. Sarkar, Mughal Administration, pp. 63-64.
24. A'in, I, pp. 196-97.
    Hidatul-Qawāid, f. 213a.
    Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 205a.
    Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 218
25. A'in, I, pp. 196-97; Ruqa'āt, S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, 19
26. Jawāhir Mal Bekas, Dasturul-Amal, f. 9.
27. A'in, I, p. 196-97.

Thānedār

Thānahs or police posts were established in the Subāh at various places. The duties and functions of Thanedārs appear to have been identical with that of faujdār.[28] But the region under the control of one thānedāri were comparatively smaller. In the absence of source material, it is rather difficult to demarcate the territorial jurisdiction of the thānedārs.[29]

The Faujdār had a large area under his charge and had to perform multifarious duties, therefore, the need arose to establish thānās in various localities.[30] Secondly, sometimes, the strategic importance of certain areas also required a close watch. For example, during his visits, Akbar ordered the establishment of Thānās at Noushahra,[31] Rajouri[32] and

---

28. The Thānedār of Marāz as well as of Kamrāj were practically carrying on the functions of Faujdārs. See Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 257.

29. Thanedār of Kamrāj had almost entire area beyond Sopore under his control, Waqiat-i-Kashmir, pp. 257,260, and the Thānedār of Marāz which was housed in an old fort at Bijbehāra controlled the upper division. Faizi, Akbar Nama, ff. 238b,39a. See also N.A.Siddiqi, 'Faujdār', Medieval India-A Miscellany, Vol.IV,1961,p.28.

30. P. Saran, Provincial Administration of the Mughals, pp. 230-232.
N.A. Siddiqi, Medieval India-A Miscellany, Vol. IV, 1961, p.
Mostly the Thanās were stationed in the hilly regions of the Subah. As a matter of fact, there was no need of so many police posts within the valley, because there were only few crimes in the Subāh. It never posed a serious threat to the administration, A'in, II, 170 (N.K.). Kalmat'-u Tayibat, f.92b.
Lawrance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 228.

31. Tuzuk, p. 317.
Mohammad Kāzim, Alamgir Nama, pp. 1038-39.

32. Insha-i-Harkaran, f. 17. See also Ruqa'at, Acc.No. 2675, Research Library, Srinagar, f. 28-29.
Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 257.

Bijbehra.[33] Another thāna was established during our period in Kamrāj[34] and Shigar.[35] Fortresses of Rajouri, and Noushahra were built during this period.[36] The old fort of Bijbehrara was repaired and thānas were stationed in these fortresses.[37]

After the conquest of Little Tibet, a thānedār was posted by the Subehdār with the permission of the Emperor in this territory.[38]

The Thānas were equipped with men and material so as to defend the territory.[39]

The Thānedārs were appointed by the Emperor, but had to serve under the Ṣubehdār.[40]

---

33. A'in, II, p. 171.
    Faizi, Akbar Nama, ff. 238b-239a.

34. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 257.

35. Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jammu, etc. p. 613.

36. Tuzuk, p. 317.
    Faizi, Akbar Nama, ff. 238-39a.

37. Faizi, Akbar Nama, ff. 238b-39a.

38. Desideri, Travells etc. (tr. Filipi De Fellipo), p. 75.

39. Tuzuk, p. 317.
    Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, pp. 167-8.
    Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 257.

40. Mangli Khan was appointed by Aurangzeb as a thānedār of Noushahra, Mohammad Kazim, ʿĀlamgir Nama, pp. 1038-39.
    Tuzuk, p. 317.
    Hashmatullah Khān, Tarikh-i-Jammu, etc. p. 613.

On account of administrative deterioration during the latter Mughal period, some of the thānedārs revolted against the Ṣubehdārs and caused great disturbances.[41] They became law breakers rather than guardians of law. In 1749-50, Babarullah Khān, thānedār of Kamrāj, entered into a league with the turbulant zamindārs of Muzzafarabad, with the assistance of each other they pushed back the provincial forces beyond Pattan. The innocent subjects were harassed, their property was looted and the women were molested.[42]

Kotwāl

We have already stated that the rural areas were under the control of the faujdār and the Thānedār. The village Chowkidār kept them informed of all the local developments.[43]

---

41. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 257.

42. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 257.
This is perhaps the only instance when any official openly rebelled in Kashmir. No doubt, the peoples risings took place intermittingly during the Mughal rule. The period of latter Mughals was virtually full of chaos and confusion and lawlessness was prevalent all over the Subah. See also Zahiruddin Malik, 'Suba of Kashmir under the latter Mughals', Medieval India-A Miscellany, Vol. II, 1972, pp. 149-63.

43. Lawrance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 228.
Superfluous assumption of P.N.K. Bamzai that Kashmir had varying number of sarkars in the Mughal period and each sarkar was in-charge of a Kotwal, where he looked after the personal security of people, A History of Kashmir, p. 437, is not supported by any evidence.

Similarly, the urban areas like cities and towns were under the jurisdiction of the Kotwāl concerning all police and and municipal affairs.[44] As Srinagar was the only city of great importance in the Ṣubāh, the Kotwāl was perhaps appointed to that metropolitan city only.

The chief duty of Kotwāl lay in the maintenance of law and order, supervision of markets, and slaughter houses, guarding against, and apprehension of the miscreants and anti-social elements,[45] and keeping the undertrials in his custody in his office which was called Chabūtarā Kotwāli.[46] The accused who were under his charge where presented to the Courts where their cases were put up for trial.[47] He also executed the sentence of convictions and in while exercising a measure of judicial authority in the disposal of some cases.[48]

---

44. Sarkar, Mughal Administration, pp. 66-71. P. Saran, Provincial Government and Administration, pp. 232-235. See also article of Akram Makhdoom, Journal of Indian History, Vol. 14, Part I, p. 111-13; 1935. The assertion of P.N.K. Bamzai that Kashmir had varying number of sarkars in the Mughal period and each sarkar was in charge of a Kotwal, where he looked after the personal security of people, A History of Kashmir, p. 437, is not supported by any evidence.

already stated vide fn 43 repetition

45. A'in, I,pp. 197-8, see also Historical Fragments, p. 452. Nigarnāma Munshi, f. 130. P. Saran, Provincial Government & Administration, pp. 232-35.
46. Gouhar-i-'Ālam, pp. 291-2. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 175, 256.
47. Gouhar-i-'Ālam, pp. 291-2. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 175.
48. Gouhar-i-'Ālam, pp. 291-2. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 175-256. P. Orme, Historical Fragments, p. 452.

The nature of the Koṭwāl's office may be compared with the present police superintendent but it cannot be likened to that of a municipal officer because the very concept of civic administration was not understood in the modern sense of the term during this period.

Muḥtasib

This institution had a long standing in Kashmir. During the Hindu rule, this officer was known as Nagaradhikrṭa.[49] His duty was to collect the fines imposed upon the defaulters, and keep an eye on the public morale. The same duty was carried on by the Muḥtasib and the Koṭwāl during the Muslim rule.[50] But the significance of Muḥtasib comparatively decreased under the Mughals. Under Aurangzeb the office regained its importance[51] but subsequently it died down.

---

49. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir under the Sultāns, p. 204.
50. Hidayatul-Qawāid, p. 172a.
    Nigār-Nāma Munshi, f. 132a.
    Dastūrul Amal-i-Ālamgiri, Add. 6599, f. 38.
    P. Saran, Provincial Government under the Mughals, p. 394.
    See also Mir'at-i-Ahamadi, Supp. pp. 174-75.
51. J Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 25.
    P. Saran, Provincial Government under the Mughals, pp. 394, 398.

any other source ?

A solitary but quite significant piece of evidence throws sufficient light on the nature of duties of the Muḥtasib.

A Muḥtasib raided the house of a mansabdar, Mir Mohammad Safa, where a mahfil-i-Samaʿ was being hosted. The Muhtasib was informed by his informers and in order to stop the musical recital, the raid was conducted.[52] It can be conjectured that the Muḥtasib was virtually "censor of the public morals," and was charged to prevent the people from indulging in un-Islamic practices.[53]

Bakhshī

The Bakhshī occupied a significant place in the provincial administration next to the Dīwān. The incumbent used to hold a high manṣab.[54] His appointment

52. Mulla Ahamad Bin Abdus-Ṣabūr, Khwāriqu-Sālikīn, f. 145b.

53. P. Saran, Provincial Government under the Mughals, p. 398.

54. Mohammad Salim Bakhshi had a manṣab of 1000/400, Mohammad Kāẓim, ʿĀlamgir-Nāma, p. 196.
ʿAli Akbar who was transferred from Kashmir to Kāshgar had a mansab of 250/60, Akhbārāt, 17th Jamid, II, 44 R.Y.

was made by the Emperor and the order bore the signatures of all the four central Bakhshis,[55] but he had to work under the subordination of the Ṣubahdār.[56] It is quite significant to note that the post of Waqi'a Nawīs was assigned to the same official.[57] In A.D. 1640, Qāẓi Mohammad Qāsim was holding the post of Bakhshi as well as that of Waqi'a Nawīs.[57a] 'Āli Akbar another Bakhshi was functioning as a Waqi'a Nawis.[58] Similarly, Mohammad Salīm who was Bakhshi was appointed as Waqia Nawis[59]

---

55. Mir'at-i-Ahamadi, Supp., pp. 174-75.
P. Saran has wrongly interpreted the sentence as there used to be four Bakhshis in province who were appointed under the seal of the Mirbakhshi, Promvincial Government under the Mughals, pp. 197-8. Halat-i-Mamalik-i-Mahroosa, f. 139. Ibn-i-Hasan, Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, p. 215.

56. J.N. Sarkar is not correct in his assumption that the Bakhshi used to be an official attached to the personal contingents of the Ṣubehdār, Mughal Administration, p. 55. It is an admitted fact that every noble of considerable rank had his own "Sarkar", which was obviously supervised by the personal staff of the noble. He appointed his Diwan, Bakhshi, Treasurer and amil in his Sarkar. Obviously, it was not the Subehdar only who had his personal staff. But every noble maintained it. Athar Ali, Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, pp. 161-62. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 537a, William Irvine, Army of the Indian Mughals, p. 40. Ibni Hasan, Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, pp. 231-32.

57. William Irvine, The Army of the Great Mughals, p. 40.

57a. Kumbo, Amal-i-Salih, II, p. 428.

58. Akhbārāt, 17th Jamadi II, 44th R.Y.

59. Wariṣ, Badshah-Nama, II, f. 323.
Mohammad Kāẓim, 'Ālamgir-Nama, p. 196.

in 1656. He retained both the offices for a long time. Obviously, this increased the significance of the Bakhshī.[60] Being a Waqia Nawis, he personally attended the office of the Subahdār and posted his subordinate staff in the offices of Diwān, Sad'r, Qāzi, and the parganāh officials.[61] His weekly reports were submitted to the centre directly in a sealed envelop.[62] He had well-staffed office to carry on the work efficiently.

He maintained the descriptive rolls of the retainers of mansabdārs, the jagirdārs and the zamindārs within his Subāh.[63] He disbursed the emoluments of the taina-tainani-suba and other officials who were paid in cash.[64]

---

60. P. Saran, Provincial Government and Administration of the Mughals, pp. 199-98. The importance of the officials can be also felt by this single evidence that Shahjahan during his visit to Kashmir remained for sometime in the house of Qāzi Mohammad Qasim Bakhshi, Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 419. It is the only evidence when any of the Emperors had stayed in the private house of any official other than Subehdār.

61. Mirat-i-Ahamadi, Supp. pp. 174-75.
Gouhar-i-Ālam, pp. 293, 298.
Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 193.

62. Mirat-i-Ahamadi, (Supp.), pp. 174-75.
P. Saran, Provincial Government & Administration of the Mughals, p. 198.

63. Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 537b.
Hidayitul-Qawaid, f. 132.
J.N. Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 199.

64. P. Orme, Historical Fragments, p. 401. I.H.Qureshi is of the opinion that the Bakhshi was not a pay master-general. He discharged such a duty only occasionally, Administration of the Mughal Empire, p. 79.

The ta'yinatis of the Ṣuba sought his permission if they wanted to go outside the Ṣubāh otherwise they were termed absconder (Firāri,) and their property was subject to confiscation.[65] The property of the deceased was also escheated by the Bakhshī.[66]

---

65. Mir'āt-i-Ahamadi, (Supp.), pp. 174-75.

66 P. Saran, Provincial Government and Administration of the Mughals, p. 198.

66.

III SECRET SERVICES FOR INTELLIGENCE

The centralised structure of the Mughal administrative set-up[1] made it imperative to keep a close watch over the provincial affairs; especially with the expansion of the empire the need of vigilence was felt still greater. It was not possible without any effective espionage system.[2] In the early stage there was only one institution known as Waqia' Nawīs.[3] As we have stated above the post was often combined with that of the Bakhshi. He posted his subordinate officials in the various provincial offices, and bi-weekly reports were submitted to the central government through dāk-chouki.[4] The officials attached to this institution collected all sorts of information, even the private gossip of the officers, and the like was transmitted to the Emperor.[5] This department almost kept a diary of the daily official transactions.[6] In due

---

1. Ibni Hasan, Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, pp. 357-358.

2. In the Independent Kashmir, there was highly developed espionage system, but we don't know about the fate of these institutions after the Mughal annexation, Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 203.

3. Mirat-i-Ahamadi, (Supp), p. 175.
   P. Saran, Provincial Government of the Mughals, p. 198.

4. Mirat-i-Ahamadi, p. 175.
   Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 534.

5. Dastūrūl Amal-i-Alamgiri, Add. 6599, f. 38.
   Akhbārāt, 29th Muharam, 45th R.Y.

6. Mirat-i-Ahamadi, (Supp.), p. 175.
   P. Saran, Provincial Government & Administration of the Mughals, pp. 197-98.

course of time its efficiency was effected and the reports usually were biased, which necessitated the introduction of a secret service which kept the centre well posted without omission and commissions. This was called Khufiyā Nawīs or Sawānih Nawīs.[7] The appointment was made secretly, and his reports were considered very reliable and authentic.[8] Prompt action was taken against a defaulter against whom the officials submitted such reports. Ibrāhim Khān, the Ṣubahdār, was reprimanded by the Emperor on the basis of the report of the Khufiyā Nawīs.[9] The Khufiyā Nawīs kept an eye on the conduct of the officials and sent reports against those officials whose conduct was not conducive to the state policies.[10] But in the latter half of Aurangzebs reign the Sawānih Nigār also entered into alliance with the corrupt Ṣubehdārs and played a vital part in exploiting both the state and the people. Abū Naṣar Khān and his brother Muzaffar Khān paid a share out of their illegal exactions.[11] Obviously, they remained in the

---

7. Mirát-i-Ahamadi, p. 175.
   P. Saran, Provincial Government & Administration of the Mughals, pp. 198-99.

8. Gouhar-i-'Ālam, p. 293.
   Mirát-i-Ahamadi, (Supp.), p. 174-75.

9. Gouhar-i-Ālam, p. 293.

10. Gouhar-i-Ālam, pp. 293, 294.

11. Mohammad Murād Teng, Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, f. 97a.

office for longer periods in spite of their atrocities and illegal exactions.[12]

But on the whole the Khufiyā Nawīs was a great check on the behaviour of the provincial officers. Subsequently, another official called Harkāra was appointed to each province. This official was ~~to~~ on the same duty but it proved a counter to Khufiyā Nawīs and Waqiʿā Nawīs. Of all the three officials, his reports were considered to be more reliable.[12a] The identity of this official remained almost concealed[13] while the Khufiyā Nawīs had become an open service.[14] The Harkārā reports where directly sent to the centre through dāk-chokī.[15]

---

12. Mohammad Murad Teng, Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, f. 97a.

12a. Mirʿāt-i-Ahamadi, (Supp.), p. 175.
P. Saran, Provincial Government under the Mughals, p. 198.
Zamiruddin Siddiqi, 'Intelligence Service Under the Mughals', Medieval India-A Miscellany, Vol. II, 1972.

13. Mirʿāt-i-Ahamadi, (Supp.), pp. 175-75.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 534b.

14. Mohammad Murād, Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, f. 97a.
P. Saran, Provincial Government under the Mughals, pp. 198-99.

15. Mirʿāt-i-Ahamadi, (Supp.), pp. 174-75.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 534b.

General
not much about Kashmir

IV MINOR ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES

The Mughal administrative set-up was highly sophisticated. Each and every branch of the administration was well attended.[1] The division in the work resulted in the efficient functioning of the administration. We have already discussed the major branches of administration. But our study will be incomplete if we do not take note of the minor administrative functionaries.

Mīr Baḥrī

The geographical features of Kashmir had provided the Ṣubāh with natural stream-links and as such the entire trade and commerce was carried on through rivers.[2] River transport was a lucrative profession and it always remained in the hands of "Hānjīs".[3] In order to divest them of their profits a heavy tax was imposed on each member of this tribe irrespective of his working capacity.[4] During the reign of Jahāngir I'ṭaqād Khān

---

1. Ibni Hasan, Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, pp. 354-56.
2. A'in, I, p. 145 (N.K).
3. A'in, I, p. 145; II, 170.
   Lawrance, The Valley of Kashmir, pp. 313-14.
   Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 99a.
4. Qazvini, Badshah Nama, II, ff. 267-68a.
   Inscription on the gate of Jamia' Masjid, Srinagar.

reversed the old system and imposed an annual tax of 75 dāms irrespective of their age and sex,[5] but in 1633-34, the order was repeated and the tax was levied according to the old rates. 60 dāms on a youngman, 36 dāms on boys and 12 dāms on infirm old men.[6]

There were more than 5700 boats plying in the river Jhelum and in its tributories during the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngir.[7] In his first visit, Akbar wanted to visit the upper divisionof the valley in a boat and so a large number of beautiful house-boats were afloat on the river Jhelum and the Dal Lake.[8] The construction and organization of this department was assigned to an official called Mīr Baḥrī.[9] It was considered to be a prestigeous post. Mullah Maẕhari a famous poet was appointed by Akbar as Mīr Baḥarī of Kashmir.[10]

---

5. Qazvini, Badshah Nama, II, ff. 267-68a.
   Inscription of Jamia' Masjid, Srinagar.

6. Ibid.

7. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p. 299.
   Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, II, p. 564.

8. A'in, I, p. 145; A.N. III, p. 550.

9. A'in, I, p. 145.
   Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 136.
   Doabgah, an adjacent town of Sopore was famous for boat industry. David Ross, The Land of five rivers and Sindh, p. 166.

10. Baduni, Muntakhibu -Tawārikh, III, pp. 344-45.
    Blochmann, A'in-i-Akbari, p. 654.
    Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 136.

Keeping in view the nature of the services, we can assume that he had a considerable retinue under him, posted at various ferries and ports, to collect the tax levied on the merchandise, grain and fodder.[11] Besides, the tax collection, he was supervising the building of boats and the maintenance of boat bridges as well.[12]

Bayūtātī

His duties were identical with that of Khānisāmān of the central government. This official was incharge of buildings, gardens, and state Karkhānās.[13] He was known as Dīwāni Bayutāt and daroga Bāgāt-o-Munzihāt also.[14] In 1044/1634-35, Shahjahan appointed Malik Haidar architect-historian Daroga Bāghāt-wa Imārāt, he remained in his office till his death, and Mohammad Kāẓim was appointed in his place.[15] He was replaced by Sayed

---

11. A'in, I, p. 145 (N.K.).
12. A'in, I, p. 145.
    P. Saran, Provincial Government and Administration of the Mughals, pp. 170-71.
13. S.R. Sharma, Mughal Administration, p. 242.
    J.N. Sarkar, Mughal Administration, pp. 44-45.
14. Lahori, Badshah-Nama, II, p. 208.
15. Lahori, Badshah-Nama, II, pp. 53, 208.

Maqsood. He died in 1683-84 and Hāji Mohammad Sayeed appointed as bayūtāti,[15a] who was succeeded by Mohammad Rafi.[16] Some of the Bayūtātis held a high mansab also. Hāji Mohammad Sayeed had a mansab of 250/10,[17] and Mohammad Ishaq Khān, son of Dārāb Khān held the rank of 400/20 and Mohamad Moonis 300/z.[18]

He was incharge of state houses, palaces, gardens and Karkhānās. The maintenance, and administration of the state property was his sole responsibility.[19] He appointed his own subordinate staff like mālīs, and chowkidārs. His appointment was made by the Emperor and he was in no way an official subordinate to the Khānisāmān.

15a. Akhbārāt, Shawal, 25 R.Y.

16. Akhbārāt, Ramzan, 40 R.Y.

17. Akhbārāt, Shawal, 25 R.Y.
Rabi I, 46 R.Y.

18. Akhbārāt, Rabi I, 46 R.Y.
Mohamad Hadi was given a rank of 200 and appointed Bayūtāti in 1702, Akhbārāt, 23rd Safar, 44 R.Y.

19. J.N. Sarkar, Mughal Administration, pp. 44-46.
S.R. Sharma, Mughal Government and Administration, p. 242.

*

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Structure of Society

The Mughal conquest was turning point in the social, economic, political, and cultural history of Kashmir. Henceforth the Ṣubāh entered into a new phase of its history, breaking the age-long state of isolation.

In fact, the establishment of Muslim rule in the first quarter of 14th century had paved the way for the Islamic institutions.[1] The process of cultural assimilation, however, continued, and it was the Mughal period that it took a definite shape. There was substantial change in the working of the political and administrative institutions,[2] and the socio-economic set-up did undergo a drastic change.[3] The cash nexus was introduce during the period which gave a new filip to the traditional economi set-up.[4] Persian language which had already found its way into the Ṣubāh eliminated Sanskrit & Sharda completely. New Sūfi Order like Naqashbandi,

---

1. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, pp.218-19.
2. See Chapter II and III.
3. See Chapter VI.
4. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 212.

   'Potentialities of the Capitalistic Development in the Economy of Mughal India', pp. 11-13.

   'Usuary in Medieval India', Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. VI, Number I, October, 1963, p. 393.

   For detail, see Chapter VIII

Chisti and Suhrawardī were introduced. The indigenous Rishi (mystic) Order and Kubrawi Order disintegrated along with Nurbakhsia Order which was gaining ground during the Chak rule.

It was during this period that the Kashmiri merchants, solidiers, poets, artisans and scholars served outside Kashmir. They spread almost all over India,[5] while Irānis, Ṭūrānis, Afghāns, and Indians came to Kashmir and settled in the Ṣubāh. Obviously, this social mobilization gave a new turn to the existing social order.

The adjacent chieftains of little and greater Tibet, Kashmir, Punch, and other hill states were reduced to complete submission. A uniform administrative set-up resulted in the free movement of merchants from one region to other. The jāgīrdārs besides the provincial officials mostly lived in the cities and towns. Thus these urban centres became the hub of all socio-cultural activities. New townships developed on the trade routes.[6] Srinagar had the privilege of being the capital of the Ṣubāh and became the main centre of all the

---

5. A.N., III, pp. 578-79, 758, 821.
   Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, ff. 211-13.
   Tarikh-i-Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri, ff. 21ab, University Collection 69/2, Maulana Azad Library, AMU., Aligarh.
   Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, ff. 205b-6a.

6. See Chapter VIII

social movements. The industrial development took a different shape, but the shawl-weaving industry developed immensely. It almost revolutionized the economy of the Ṣubāh.

Thus these currents and cross-currents, action and inter-action ultimately resulted in the assimilation of diverse cultures and a new social set-up emerged out. However, links with the past were not broken altogether; but a new social order had taken birth from the debris of the old indigenous traditions.

Dress, diet, housing, customs, and mode of living did undergo a change in the period that followed.

In the following pages an attempt has been made to discuss the important features of the social institutions, stratification of society, social and religious life and movements and the interplay of social, cultural intellectual and economic factors in the evolution of a composite and integrated social order in Kashmir as part of the larger social forces in operation in the whole of the Mughal Empire.

Diet

Rice remained the staple food of the people in the valley as usual.[7] It was boiled and left to cool

---

7. A'in, II, p. 170.
Iqbal-Nama Jahangiri, III, p. 565.
Tuzuk, p. 300.

down, because there was no custom of taking hot meals.[8] Neither salt nor ghee was added during preparation.[9] But the people of upper classes enjoyed all sorts of delicious dishes of various types and various preparations of meat were also cherished on festive occasions.[10] Both boiled and fried green and dried vegetables were used commonly.[11] Walnut oil was mostly taken by the poorer sections of the society.[12] Rape linseed, sesame and mustard oil was in common use.[13] Butter and fats were not used commonly for the preparation of the dishes as it was considered to be harmful because of cold climate.[14] Froth of buckwheat, barley, and millet was mostly eaten by the common people residing on the outskirts of the Wular-lake.[15] Water chestnut flour was the staple food article of thousands of people.[16] The nut flour was supplied to biryan Faroshan of Srinagar, also by the farm contractors who

---

8. ~~A'in, II, p. 170.~~
~~Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, III, p. 565; Tuzuk, p. 300.~~

8. Tuzuk, p. 300. Boiled rice was called "bhata".

9. Tuzuk, p. 300.
Iqbal-Nama Jahangiri, III, p. 565.

10. Da'ud Mishkati, Asrarul-Abrar, f. 38b.

11. A'in, II, p. 170.

12. Kambu, Amal-i-Salih, II, p. 28. Tuzuk, p. 301.

13. Tuzuk, p. 301; Gulshan-i-Dastur, ff. 345-7, 372.
Lawrance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 339.

14. Tuzuk, p. 301.

15. Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 344. Hasan,
Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 63a.

16. Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 63a.
Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 471.

appropriated the nuts from the lakeside during the harvest season.[17] Bread prepared from the nut-flour was considered to be highly nutritive.[18]

Fish,[19] mutton,[20] beaf,[21] fowls both domestic[22] and wild were used by all sections of the people. Beens,[23] knolkhol,[24] carrots, brinjal,[25] and pumpkins[26] were the usual vegetables.[27] Grams were not locally produced but lentils and other kinds of pulses were raised throughout the Ṣubāh.[28]

---

17. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 344.
18. Lawrance, The Valley of Kashmir, pp. 354-5.
19. A'in, II, p. 170.
Tuzuk, p. 300.
20. A'in, II, p. 170. Tuzuk, p. 300.
Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 220.
Shuka, Raja-Tarangni, (tr. J.C. Dutt), p. 421.
21. Hasan, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, I, ff. 64a-b.
Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 230.
Lawrance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 254.
22. A'in, II, pp. 170, 175. Tuzuk, pp. 300-1.
23. A'in, II, p. 170. Tuzuk, pp. 294, 300-1.
24. Tuḥfatul-Fuqarā, f. 112a.
25. Tabaqāt-i-Akbari, III, p. 477.
26. G.T. Vigue, Personal Narative of a Travel etc. II, p. 230.
27. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 531a, mentions that the pulses of mong, mothe, blackbeans, while beans, krothi,and lentils were used commonly. See also f.n. 56a.
28. A'in, II, p. 170.
A.N., III, p. 727.
Tuzuk, p. 301.

Wheat and barley was cultivated in a few pockets of the valley. Buckwheat, and millets were the main crops of Little and Greater Tibet, Pakhli and Kashtawār. Special kind of rice was produced in Rajouri, but the people mostly used bread in these regions.[29]

Spices of various kinds like pepper, turmeric, ginger, cloves, chillies and saffron were added to increase the taste and flavour of the dishes.[30] These spices were mainly transported from Agra.[31]

Drinks

Most common drink, though not intoxicating was tea. It was imported mainly from China via Ladakh.[32] Soft liquor of various types was used by all and sundry.[33] It was distilled from grapes, barley, rice, and mulberries.[34] Locally

---

29. Tuzuk, p. 294.
Kumbu, Amal-i-Sālih, II,
Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp. 417-18.
J.P. Ferguson, An Introduction to the history of Kashmir, p. 162.
Desideri, Travels, p. 78.

30. A'in, II, p. 172.
Tuzuk, pp. 300-1.
Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, pp. 34-35.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 556a.
Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, pp. 46, 73.

31. Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, pp. 34-35.

32. Hasan, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 64b.

33. A'in, II, p. 170. Kumbu, Amal-i-Sālih, II, p. 34. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 560a.

34. Iqbal-Nama Jahangiri, III, p. 565. Tuzuk, p. 300.

the liquor was called *mas*.[35] *Boza* was prepared from rice in Pakhli as well as in the valley.[36] The distilled liquid was preserved in earthen jars for years together. The oldest *boza* was called "achi".[37] In Little and Greater Tibet, a peculiar drink was prepared from barley, millet and buckwheat.[38] It was mixed with goats butter. The delicious soft intoxicating drink was called "chang". Cups after cups were taken to heat up their bodies.[39]

On festive occasions there was free consumption of liquor by the participients.[40] *Angūrī* and *qandī* were the cherished drinks of singers.[41] But there appears to have been substantial decrease in liquor consumption during the later half of the 17th century. Tobacco was introduced during the late 17th century,[42] and during 18th century, it was puffed by a larger section of the society.[43]

---

35. *Tuzuk*, p. 300.
36. *Tuzuk*, p. 290.
    Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 174.
37. *Tuzuk*, p. 290.
38. Desideri, *Travels*, etc. p. 78.
    Moorcroft, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces*, etc. I, pp. 232-3.
39. Ibid.
40. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 404, 560.
41. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 404.
42. Zaffar Khān Aḥsan, *Haft Masnavi*, f. 8a.
    Forster, *From Bengal to England*, II, p. 7.
    Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 64a.
43. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 96.

Dress

The climatic conditions have a direct relation with the dress of the people. The cultivation of cotton was not profitable because of poor yield while as excellent pastoral areas provided sufficient grazing ground for sheep; so wool was available in larger quantities.[44] Secondly the valley and Kashtawar was full of mulberry trees.[45] Silk worm were reared upon the leaves of this golden tree. So, the dress of men and women was prepared from wool,[46] while silk garments was the privilege of upper class-people only.[47] Cotton cloth being very costly was considered to be an item of luxury.[48] A loose and long gown of pattu was the common dress of all the people in the valley and Pakhli.[49] During the winter months, woollen blankets were used by all sections of the society.[50] It was very difficult to differentiate a Hindu from a Muslim on the

---

44. Tarikh-i-Rashidi, p. 432.
A'in, II, p. 170.
Tuzuk, p. 301.

45. Tarikh-i-Rashidi, p. 432.
A'in, II, p. 170.
Tuzuk, p. 301.

46. A'in, II, p. 170.
Tuzuk, p. 301.

47. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, pp. 552a.

48. Pelseart, Jahangir's India, p. 33.

49. A'in, II,pp. 170-1.
Tuzuk, p. 301. Some modern writers attribute the introduction of this loose long gown locally called pheran to Akbar, intending to make the people of Kashmir lethargic,vigne, G.T. Travels, etc.II,142. E.F.Knight,Where Three Empires meet,26, Laurance, Valley of Kashmir,251. It is quite contrary to the facts Phiren was commonly used even before the Mughal conquest, Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans,228. As a matter of fact the Mughal monarchs rediculed this dress,A'in,II,170;Tuzuk,p.301.

50. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 185.

basis of dress.[51] Drawers were not used by the lower sections[52] while jama, peshwaz, chemes were the main articles of dress of upper classes.[53] These articles were made from fine silk, zarbāft, kimkhāb and velvet.[54] A long and loose dress of pattū and pūstīn was common in Ladakh.[55] But in the hoter regions of Rajouri, Noushahra, Baramgalla and Punch the people used to wear cotton cloth and the style was resembling to that of the Punjab.[56]

ʿUlama, and eminent scholars put on a black cloak of Persian style and a turban of white colour.[57]

The headgear varried from place to place. Both Hindus and Muslims shaved their head, but they were a beared.[58]

---

51. Tuzuk, p. 301.
52. Tuzuk, p. 301.
    Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 562.
53. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 562.
    Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans,
54. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 562.
55. Kumbu, ʿAmal-i-Sālih, I, pp. 515-16.
    Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp. 423-24.
56. Tuzuk, p. 317.
57. Risalā Jahān Ārā Begam, f. 12.
    Bernier, Travels in Mughal Empire, f. 415.
    He calls it a cabay.
58. Tuzuk, p. 301.

Turban was a common headgear but the common people usually put on a skill-shaped cap.[59] During winter bag-shaped woollen cap like Russian balacva was worn by the people.[60] The Tibetans put on a typical type of head-dress of red and yellow colour.[61]

Women folk dressed their hair in plaits and a long clout of dyed wool was attached to the locks of hair,[62] and put on an ornamented head dress called qasābā,[63] while the elderly Hindu laides tied a white handkerchief around their head.[64] Nose ring was used by the women of Rajouri, Baramgalla and Noushahra.[65]

Shoes made from hides was not used by common people. It was a luxury for them.[66] They used pulhōre a typical type of footwear made from twisted rice straw.[67] Wooden sandles were commonly used.[68] A woollen long cloth called petawa was tied around the legs in order to protect the calves from pinching cold winds.[69]

59. Moorcroft and Trebeck, Travels in Hindustan, II,p.97. Chopra, P.N.,Some Aspects of Society & Culture, p. 7.
60. Ibid.
61. Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp. 415-16.
62. Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, p. 35.
63. Qasāba was a type of handkerchief tied around the head by women folk, A'in, I, p. 74. See also Gulshan-i-Dastūr. For further details, see Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, pp. 251-52, 262.
64. Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 262.
65. Tuzuk, p. 317.
66. Insha Collection 3102, Research Library, Srinagar, f. 76a.;Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir,pp.251-2.
67. A.N., III, p. 540; Forster, From Bengal to England, II, p. 3.
68. Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, f. 63. Forster, From Bengal to England, II, p. 3.
69. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 252.

Kanger, a bowl-shaped earthen pot contained in wicker work was a peculiar thing used to worm the body. Hot embers made from tender willow and poplar twigs, and chinar leaves were put into the bowl. The burnt chaff of grain was also burnt in it. It generated a heat of moderate temperature. ~~The~~ Charāri Sharīf was a famous centre of the manufacture of the kanger.[70]

Festivals and Pastimes

"When a Kashmiri, even of the lowest order, finds himself in the possession of ten Shillings, he loses no time in assembling his party and launching into the lake, solaces himself till the last farthing is lost," was the observation of George Forster, who visited Kashmir in 1783.[71] Kashmiri never missed a chance to participate in a festive occasion. Both religious and secular type of festivals were observed and enjoyed by all the sections of the people.

Ī'd, Shab-i-Barāt, Nourōze, Diwāli, Dussehra, were observed with great rejoicing, pomp and show.[72] All

---

70. Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, ff. 63b, 112a.
Lawrance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 250.

71. George Forster, From Bengal to England by Sea, II, pp. 13-17.
See also Lawrance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 256.

72. Tuzuk, p. 305.
Lahori, Badshāh Nama, II, p. 168.

sections of society participated in these festivals. Nouroze, Diwali and Ids had become virtually the national holidays. Bonafires, illuminations and jashnis were arranged surpassing even the excellence of Persian style.[73] A legendary birth day of the River Jhelum on the 13th of Bhādūn was celebrated by illuminating tinny oil lamps on both the banks of river Jhelum.[74] Dussehra was a Hindu festival, but the Muslims also participated in it equally. Both Akbar and Jahangir distributed robes of honour upon the Hindu nobles.[75]

Besides these national festive occasions, some regional and local religious festivals were also celebrated. The death or birth anniversary of saints and ṣūfīs, who were scattered all over the Ṣubāh, were celebrated with reverence. The annual fairs or Urs of the saints like Sheikh Noorud-Dīn Rīshī at Charāri Sharif,[76] Bābā Jānbāz Wali at Baramulla,[77] Rishi Maloo at Islamābād, Sayyid Ali Hamadāni, and Sheikh Ḥamza Makhdoomī at Srinagar were also held with great reverence and adherence. Hindus also celebrated the annual fairs of Tulla Mulla

73. A.N., III, p. 626.
Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 158.
Sādiq Khān, Tarikh-i-Shahjahāni, p. 94.
74. A.N., III, p. 732. Tuzuk, p. 311.
75. Tuzuk, p. 314.
76. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 165.
77. Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, p. 414.

Amar Nāth, Sind Berāri, and Kokar Nāg.[78]

The death or birth ceremony of the local saints were almost celebrated throughout the valley. In the course of time these ceremonies turned into annual fairs.[79]

Games and Pastimes

We are not in a position to have a detailed account of the games and pastimes on account of paucity of source material. However, the people took to the following games and pastimes: The hunting of wild ducks and fowls was a common hobby. The bird catchers delighted in taking their boats in the midest of the lakes along with their highly trained falcons. The falcon was left free and it pounced upon its prey in the midest of air and brought it down in the water. The fowls that were caught were cooked and served among the friends.[80]

Polo or choughān was a common game played almost throughout the Ṣubāh by all sections of people.[81] It was equally popular in Tibet and Kashtawār.[82] It is interesting

78. A'in, II, pp. 170-4. Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, ff. 234-6. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 267-71.
79. Desideri, Travels, pp. 72, 315.
80. A'in, II, p. 172. A.N., III, p. 548. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 271.
81. Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 169a.
82. Moorcroft and Trebeck, Travels in Himalayan Provinces, I, p. 107.

to note that mock battles were fought among the youngsters of different wards of Srinagar in Maisuma ground.[83] Tipcat, hopscotch, and wrestling bouts were some other games played during our period.[84]

Housing

Kashmir has always been praised for its lofty trees, no wonder that four, five and six storeyed buildings were built in wood. The ground floor was reserved for cattle, first floor was meant as family apartments, second and third floors were reserved for household chattles.[85]

Stone, lime and backed bricks constituted the main building material used by the upper classes.[86] Keeping in view the geographical and climatic conditions, stone was not freely used by the common man.[87] The house roofs were slanting as now

---

83. Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 255.
Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 232.

84. Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 255.
Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 232.

85. Tārikh-i-Rashidi, (N. Elias), p. 434.
A'in, II, p. 169. Tuzuk, pp. 298-9.
Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp. 397-98.

86. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, ff.
Desideri, Travels, (tr. Filipode Fillipi), pp. 72,351.
Forster, From Bengal to England, II, p. 11.

87. A'in, II, p. 169. Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, p. 398.
The temples were made of stone only but the shrines and mosques were built in wood only. But subsequently the Mughals reintroduced the use of stone in civic buildings. See Chapter VII, Section III.

to let the snow fall off during the winter months. The roofs were covered with planks, and brick bark covered with fine earth.[88] Tulips, white and pink lillies were grown over it.[89] Rosaries, and orchards were laid out in front of the houses of rich people,[90] and fruits and vegetables were cultivated in the kitchen gardens.[91] The custom of enclosures was not in vogue,[92] but in the course of time the habit developed and mud walls were built around the compounds.[93] Wine yards, and ivy bales with plane and poplars was the peculiarity of their mansions.[94] Their houses were mainly built on the banks of the Jhelum, and around the Dal lake.[95] The exteriors of these mansions were highly decorated, but the interiors were not equally beautiful. Lattice work was artistically introduced in place of glass-panes.[96] Most of them owned luxury house-boats and Shikaras.[97] Other luxurious aminities were also at their disposal.

88. A'in, II, p. 169. A.N., III, p. 543. Tuzuk, pp.289-9.

89. A'in, II, p. 169. A.N., III, p. 543. Tuzuk, pp.298-9.

90. Desideri, Travels, p. 351.
Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, p. 398.

91. A'in, II, p. 169. Qazvini, Badshah Nama, III,f.315a-b.

92. A'in, II, p. 169.

93. Forster, From Bengal to England, II, p. 11.

94. Desideri, Travels, p. 351.

95. Qazvini, Badshah Nama, III, f. 314a-b.
Kumbu, ʿAmal-i-Sālih, II, p. 33.

96. Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, p. 34.
Forster, From Bengal to England, II,pp. 11, 36.

97. Kumbu, ʿAmal-i-Sālih, II, p. 33.
Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, p. 398.

The houses of the common people were constructed in fresh cutpines, fir and cedars.[98] The planks were fastened together and gaps were filled up with mud plaster.[99] The roof tops were covered with paddy straw and reeds.[100] The same style of houses was in vogue in Kashtawār, Bānihāl and Pakhli, but these were not multistoreyed.[101] But the houses in Little and Greater Tibet were of quite different style. On account of scarcity of timber, stone constituted the main building material. The houses were single storeyed with a few rooms.[102]

The layout of the city of Srinagar was excellently beautiful. It was spread over on the both banks of the river Jhelum. Interiors were linked by canals presenting a picturesque look.[103] The city was densely populated and houses were built close to each other on eitherside of the streets.[104] The lanes though paved with hewn stones, were yet very narrow, and the city was congested.[105] Baramulla, and Islamabad were two other

---

98. Lahori, Badshah Nama, I, p. 23.
Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 249.

99. Lahori, Badshah Nama, I, p. 23.

100. Hasan, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 140a.

101. Tuzuk, p. 291.

102. Desideri, Travels, p. 75.
See also Cunningham, Ladakh - Political, Physical etc. Chapter III.

103. Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, p. 398.

104. Qazvini, Badshah-Nama, III, ff. 314a-b.
Kumbu, Amal-i-Salih, II, p. 33.

105. Tarikh-i-Rashidi, p. 425. Kumbu, Amal-i-Sālih, II, p. 30. Desideri, Travels, pp. 71-72.

towns spread over the same river.[106] The towns of Shopiyan, Bijbehara, Kashtawar, Punch, and Rajouri were not congested.

Floor Covernings

The lower sections of the society used paddy straw, and mats made from turf of lakes called pets (Typhe Sp).[107] It commonly grew in the lakes and marshy lands.[108]

But the dhurries, carpets, gabbās, and other textured floor coverings was the privilege of the aristocracy.[109] Cots and chairs were not used in the valley and Little and Greater Tibet, but it might have been in use in the Rajouri, Punch and other such regions.[110]

---

106. Tuzuk, p. 296.
107. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir,
 Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 306b.
 Lawrance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 69.
 Wat, Commercial Products of India, p. 777.
 Ḥasan, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 180b.
108. Ḥasan, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 180b.
109. Tuzuk, p. 301.
 Lahori, Badshah Nama, I, p. 448.
 Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 562a.
110. Tuzuk, pp. 298-99.

Utensils

The peasant household consisted of a few earthenpots, some bowls, and a pair of earthen pitchers.[111] Brass, copper, and other metal wares were used by the upper classes.[112] China wares, saphire and jade dishes and plates were also in use of this privileged class.[113]

Status of Women

Women enjoyed the same position in society as was accorded to them in Persia, Turkistan, and the rest of Mughal India.[114] The ladies of the upper starta of society enjoyed the privileges of an aristocratic society while the women folk in general faced the hard life side by side with their husbands.[115] They worked in the fields, in gardens and earned their livelihood from wool spinning.[116] They did not observe <u>pardah</u> and moved freely in the streets.[117] They

---

Lawrence, <u>The Valley of Kashmir</u>, pp249-50.

111. ~~Tuzuk~~, pp. ~~298-99.~~

112. <u>Gulshan-i-Dastūr</u>, f. 557.

113. <u>Gulshan-i-Dastūr</u>, f. 561.
<u>Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir</u>, p. 141.

114. Forster, <u>From Bengal to England</u>, II, p. 24.

115. For the comparison, see Pelsaert, <u>Jahangir's India</u>, p. 34, and Bernier, <u>Travels in the Mughal Empire</u>, pp. 402-4.

116. Bernier, <u>Travels in Mughal Empire</u>, pp. 402-4.
Forster, <u>From Bengal to England</u>, II, p. 24.

117. Pelsaert, <u>Jahangir's India</u>, p. 34.

participated in the festivals and fairs,[118] while the ladies of aristocracy and the U'lama maintained strict pardah and did not go out except in palanquins and litters.[119] They received elementary education from tutors within their own houses.[120] Some of the ladies of ṣufis even managed the khānqāhs after the death of their husbands. Begam of Khwāja Mo'inuddin after the death of Khwāja in 1085/H managed the khānqāh and surpassed even men in its administration.[121] It was a sufic belief that women could not sustain the hardships required for emancipation and to achieve perfection as Ṣufi, but Mullah Shāh Badakhshi had some women disciples also.[122] Roopa Bhawāni was also a saint and a Ṣūfi of her time. She was a disciple of Shāh Sādiq Qalandar.[123] However, the common women had neither leisure nor the facilities to receive education. Though Islam has permitted polygamy, but it did not gain currency in the Ṣubāh. It was not practised by the common people. Even the zamindārs who were financially better off did not have usually

---

118. Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, p. 34.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 189-90.

119. Bernier, Travels in Mughal Empire, pp. 403-4.
Forster, From Bengal to England, pp. 3, 4, 24.
F. Drew, Territories of Jamoo & Kashmir, pp. 182-3.

120. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 129-30, 168-9.
Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 227.

121. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 168-9.

122. Sakīnatul-Auliā, p. 153.

123. P.N.K. Bamzai, A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, p. 400.

marry more than one wife.[124] But polyandry was quite a common custom among the Buddhists of Ladakh and Askardoo.[125] The condition of the women-folk of the valley was comparatively better than those of Ladakh and other hilly regions.[126]

In Rajouri, and Bhimber, inter-marriages between Hindus and Muslims were quite common.[127] It is very strange to note that ~~the~~, in a number of cases, Muslim ladies were burried alive with their husbands after the latter's death. Sati among Hindus was also quite common in these regions. Both Jahangir and Shahjahan discouraged the inter-marriages and strictly forbade the Sati.[129] In spite of all restrictions, it continued until Aurangzeb's accession. He strictly prohibited the practice and warned the officials to face dire consequences if sati was resorted to with their connivance or failure.[130]

---

124. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, ff. 531a-b.

125. Bernier, Travels in Mughal Empire, p. 419.
Fillipode Filippi, Antiquities of Indian Tibet, p.135.

126. J.P. Ferguson, Kashmir - An Introduction, etc. p.164.

127. Tuzuk, p. 317.
Lahori, Badshah-Nama, I, pp. 57-8.

128. Tuzuk, p. 317.
Lahori, Badshah-Nama, I, pp. 57-8.

129. Tuzuk, p. 317. Lahori, Badshah-Nama, I, pp. 57-8.
Kumbu, Amal-i-Sālih, II, pp. 63-64.

130. Ma'asir-i-Jahāngiri, f. 138.
Khāfi Khān, Muntakhibu-Lubāb, I, p. 501.
Mohamad Sādiq Khān, Tārikh-i-Shahjahani-wa-Alamgiri, f. 349. See also G.T. Vigne, Travels, II, p. 151.
Moorcroft & Trebeck, Travels in Hindustan, II, p.131.

Child marriage was a common feature in both the communities in all regions of the Ṣubāh.[131] Widows had no social restriction to remarry and they were entitled to own property.[132]

Kashmiri beauty had always been proverbial. Fair-complexioned girls with striking and sharp features and a pointed nose had made the 17th century European travellers[133] spell bound as they overwhelmed with fascination all the other foreigners who coveted the possession of the valley. George Forster expressed the same opinion about the womenfolk of the Ṣubāh.[134] But the majority of the common womenfolk who were exposed to the sun and heat were no so charming in looks and were of pink complexion.[135]

The Mughal nobles had a great desire to marry Kashmiri girls.[136] During the Mughal rule so many Kashmiri girls were married to them[137] and many demands of superb beauty were appointed as maids in the imperial household[138] with various assignments and duties.

131. Tuzuk, p. 317.
132. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 129-30. See also madadi-māsh grant No. 10, 24, Research Library, Srinagar.
133. Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp. 404, 415-17
134. Forster, From Bengal to England, II, p. 356.
135. Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, pp. 32- .
136. Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, p. 402.
137. A'in, III, p. 220.
Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp. 372-403.
138. Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp. 372, 403.
Manucci, Storia Do Mogor, II, p. 328.

It was during this period that the women of Kashmir was exposed to the outer world and in the course of time resulted in the shameful and nefarious practice of trafficking in women and white slave trade.[139]

Matrimonial Alliances

It was a marked feature of medieval society that the weaker chieftains gave their daughters in marriage to the powerful ones who obviously happendd to be their over lord or suzerain. The chieftains of Jammu, Rajouri, Poonch and Little and Greater Tibet entered into such alliances even before the establishment of the Sultanate.[140] The same tradition was kept up by the Muslim Sultāns.[141]

Mughal Monarchs in general and Akbar and his successors in particular attached inordinate emphasis to matrimonial alliances. Many Rajput chieftains offered their girls in marriage to the Mughal emperors and princes.[142] The same policy was followed in Kashmir. Even before the formal annexation the daughter of Husan Chak was married to

---

139. Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp. 372, 403. Manucci, Storia Do Mogor, II, p. 328.

140. A.N. III, 609, 626, ʿAmal-i-Sālih, II, p 445. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultāns, p209

141. Ibid.

142. A.N., II, pp. 123, 135. Tuzuk, p. 68.

Prince Salim. After the conquest many more princesses found their way into the imperial harem.[143] It was not the ruling dynasty of Chaks but the chieftains of Tibet, Rajouri, and Kashtawār who were also persuaded to enter into matrimonial relationship.[144] Even the powerful nobles were persuaded to give their daughters to the princes of royal blood.[145] Such alliances had far-reaching consequences, the rebel chieftains were pacified and befriended to obey the Mughal emperors and relinquished armed struggles against the Mughals.[146] It thus proved a master stroke of imperial policy of winning friends and disarming opposition. Information is lacking as to what role these ladies played in the imperial harems, and how far they were able to effect the imperial policies.

---

143. Akbar had daughter of the Chak ruler in his harem, A.N., III, p. 609.

Prince Salim was married to the daughter of Iba Malik and Ali Rai Zamindar of Tibet, A.N., III, p. 609, and daughter of Shamas Chak was married to him in 1588, A.N., III, p. 626. Murad Bakhash married the daughter of a zamindar of Shahabad Paraganah, Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 139, Gouhar-i-Ālam, p. 269. Prince Mohamad Sultan was married with the daughter of Raja Maha Sen of Kashtawar, Akhbārāt, Rajab, 24 R.Y. Prince Muazm had the daughter of Tajuddin of Rajouri in marriage, Hutichson, History of the Punjab Hill States, II, p. 686, Raja Gour Sen gave his daughter to Shah Shuja, Kumbu, Āmal-i-Sālih, II, p. 445, Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, pp. 434-35.

144. See f.n. 143 supra.

145. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 139.
Gouhar-i-'Ālam, p. 269.

146. A.N., III, p. 626.

*

CHAPTER VII

RELIGIOUS LIFE AND MOVEMENTS

Shia-Sunni Relation

Background:

As already observed above the state patronage by way of Madadi Ma'āsh grants and stipends etc. was extended to the Ṣūfis, theologians, scholars and others ever since the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmir. It attracted many people of significance erudition and piety from outside Kashmir. In A.D. 1481 Shams-ud-Din came to Kashmir as an envoy of the Court of Sūltān Ḥusain Shah.[1] He was a votary of the Nūrbakhshi belief and he introduced it in the Ṣubāh. Bābā 'Ali Najār, and Bābā Ismā'il Kubravi became the first disciples of Shams-ud-Din.[2] He remained in Kashmir for eight years but the exigencies of his office did not permit him to propagate his missionary ideas freely and publicly. However, on his return to his native land, he came again with the job of a missionary to propagate the Nurbakhshia ideology. It was during this period that civil war among the sons of Zainul'ābidin had gravely affected the administration and the nobles were freely indulging to create chaos and confusion. The

---

1. Tārikh-i-Rashidi, pp. 434-35.
   Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 60a, 78b-79a.

2. Bahāritān-i-Shāhi, f. 78b-79a-b.

   See also Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, pp. 112-14.

Chak Clan was gaining importance and in the course of time they laid claims to the throne.[3] Meanwhile, Shamsuddin was able to influence a large section of this clan. In 1540, Mirza Ḥaidar Dughlat conquered Kashmir. Though he allowed Sultān Nāzuk Shah to rule over the land but he obtained virtual control over the land. In order to consolidate his position he devised a method to divide the Kashmiris. He prescribed the propogation of the new creed and brought back Daniyāl, son of Shamsuddin from Askardo. Fiqah Ahwat, a treatise by Irāqi on the Nūrbakhshi theosophy was sent to some leading Indian theologians for scrutiny. It was decreed as an innovation (bid'at;) and on this pretext the Mirza attacked the Chak strongholds. Zadibal Khānqāh of Irāqi was burnt and the feelings of the two sections were thereby alienated.[4] Meanwhile Mirza Haidar was killed in an encounter in 1551, and soon after his death Chak rule was established. The Chaks adopted retaliatory attitude towards the Sunni 'Ulamā; who were opposed to the continuance of their rule. The Shah Mir nobility was reduced to a subordinate position and the powerful Chak clan and their allies, the Maliks obviously controlled the resources. All these factors combined to widen the gulf and the powerful Mughals who cast covetous eyes on the Ṣubāh got an opportunity. In 1584-85, a party of the Sunnis of

---

3. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, pp. 220. See Chapter I, Section I.

4. Tarikh-i-Rashidi, pp. 434-35.

Kashmir approached Akbar who immediately mobilised an army under Shah Rukh Mirza and Raja Baghwant Dass and sent an expedition to Kashmir which resulted in snatching power from the Chaks.[5]

The establishment of the Mughal rule subsided the sectarian tension for some time but mutual dislike was still simmering in the die-hards and could have manifested itself in an ugly manner if given the time and expression.

In the course of time the Maliks of Chadoora regained their foothold in Kashmir.[6] In 1618, Malik Ḥaidar was assigned zamindari rights and given the title of Raisul Mulk and Chugtai.[7] His brother Malik Ali was assigned jāgirs and a manṣab. They rebuilt the k͟hānqāh of zadibal and Hasanābād. Their influence was increasing day by day. This development caused anxiety among the other sections.[8] Even the Ṣubehdārs disliked their interference.[9] Ahmad Beg K͟hān, Dilāwar K͟hān tried to

5. See Chapter I, Section I.

6. Maliks of Chadoora were stunch supporters of the Chaks. Malik Haidar and his brother served Yousf Shah even in Hindustan during his exile. Malik Haidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, ff.214-16, Bahāristān-i-S͟hāhi, f. 212a.

7. Malik Haidar, Malik Ali and Aiba Chak were in Burdwan when Sher Afghan was was killed. Aiba Chak died on spot. He held the mansab of 1000, Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, III, 518-9; Kewal Ram, Tazkiratul-Umara, f. 15. Malik Haidar was only injured. But after the death of Sher Afghan the Maliks rushed to the help of Mehrunnisa the future Nurjahan. When she entered the harem the Maliks were fabulously rewarded. Malik Haidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, ff. 214-16. Bahāristān-i-S͟hāhi, f212a

8. Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 214.

9. Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 214.

poison the ears of Jahangir in order to tarnish their image.[10]

In 1618, a section of Srinagar was devastated by fire. Jamia' Masjid was also burnt. Jahangir who happened to be in Srinagar directed the royal water carriers under Maliks to extinguish the fire; but they failed to save the mosque.[11] This incident provided an opportunity to intriguers to hatch out a conspiracy against the Maliks. Malik Nāji and Malik Haidar were alleged to have burnt the mosque in retaliation of the destruction of the khānqāh of Zadibal. Jahangir ordered the Maliks to rebuild the mosque and bear its expenses.[12] It was bitterly resented by the Shias and fostered sectarian hatred. Henceforth the sectarian skirmishes took place from time to time.

In 1636, sectarian riots broke out in the city of Srinagar. A certain incident led to the flare-up. A group of Vagabonds of both the sections were relishing mulberries at Maisūma.[13] Meanwhile a querrel broke out amongst them and some of the Shias used indecent words about the Prophet and the three

---

10. Malik Haidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 214.
11. Malik Haidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 215a.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 124.
See also the Inscription on the main gate of Jamia Masjid, Srinagar.
12. Malik Haidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 216.
See also the Inscription on the gate of Jamia' Masjid of Srinagar.
13. Gouhar-i-'Ālam, pp. 267-8.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 138.
Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, ff. 287-8.

Caliphs. In a short-while the entire city was engulfed in the riots. Sunnīs attacked Zadibal and Hasanābād, and destroyed the life and property of the Shias.[14] Khwāja Khāwand Mahmūd rose to the occasion and he controlled the situation, but he demanded the execution of the culprits. Zafar Khān, the Ṣubehdār did not pay any attention, and the Khwāja left the city in protest and encamped at Hafṭ-Chinār. Thousands of his followers followed him. In spite of such a popular demand Zafar Khān did not yield. He awaited the imperial orders. Khwājā Khwānd Mahmūd was summoned to the Court and was not allowed to return to the Ṣubāh.[15]

In 1667, once again sectarian riots broke out. Sheikh Abdul Rashīd Chikan, along with his disciples was going to participate in the annual fair of Shaikh Nūruddīn Rīshī at Charāri-Sharīf.[16] When the procession reached Chadoora, Malik Ḥusain, son of Malik Ḥaidar, was at the gate of his house. He did not pay his respects to the pilgrims.[17] Sheikh Rashīd rediculed the Malik and hot words were exchanged.[18] The Sheikh

---

14. Gouhar-i-'Ālam, pp. 267-8.
    Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 138.
15. Gouhar-i-'Ālam, pp. 267-8.
    Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, ff. 287-8.
    Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 138.
16. Charari-Sharif is a town 28 miles in the south-west of Srinagar where the saint was burried after his death.
17. Gouhar-i-'Ālam, pp. 287-8.
    Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 165.
18. Gouhar-i-'Ālam, pp. 287-8.

abondoned the pilgrimage and approached Saif Khān, the Ṣubehdār.[19] The Sheikh was not satisfied with the enquiry. Meanwhile, Khufiyā Nawīs reported the facts to Emperor. The case was handed over to Qazi Askar, and Malik Ḥusain and his servants were executed.[20]

The worst riots took place in 1685-86. There was a quarrel between a businessman and one Abdul Shakoor a resident of Hasanābād on some private matter. Abdul Shakoor was reluctant to pay his debt, so the parties abused each other. The merchant filed a suit in the Court of Qāzī, alleging that the debter had committed denunciation of the Prophet's companions (Sabbi Suhābā), and demanded their immediate execution.[21] Ibrāhim Khān wanted to pacify the parties through the good offices of Mulla Tāhir Muftī. But the situation was aggravated by Murīd Khān, Alaf Khān, Mirzā Muqīm, Khwājā Sharīf Dehbedi, and Mohammad Ṣābir.[22] A group of miscreants set Hasanābād to fire. Ibrāhim Khān sent his son, Fidai Khān, to protect the residents of Hasanābād. The said Afghan nobles took arms against

---

19. Gouhar-i-'Ālam, p. 288. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 165.

20. Gouhar-i-'Ālam, p. 288. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 165.

21. Gouhar-i-'Ālam, pp. 291-92.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 175.

22. Gouhar-i-'Ālam, pp. 291-2.
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 175-176.
Hasan, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 175a.

Fidai Khān. Gunfire was exchanged and innocent people became victims. Mufti Tāhir wanted to settle the dispute amicably; but the Qāẓi was not cooperative.[23] Muftis house was set to fire along with the Ṣubehdār's residence. Ibrāhim Khān directed his troops to put down the riot and directed his son to arrest Qāzi Aslam.[24] When the people came to know this, they gave a stiff resistence. Fidai Khān opened fire and more than forty people were killed,[25] and ultimately Bāqi Bābā, Hāji Bandi, Khwājā Qāsim, and Lala Ganāi were arrested.[26] But Ibrāhim Khān was immediately transferred and he was demoted.[27] Thus the objective of Afghān nobles was fulfilled.[28] However, an enquiry commission was set up and Ibrāhim Khān was found innocent. But it took more than two years to establish the fact.

---

23. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 175.

24. Khāwariqus-Sālikin,ff. 131a-b.
Tuhfatul-Fuqarā,ff.91a,
Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 175.

25. Khāwariqus-Sālikin, ff. 131a-b.
Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, f. 91a. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 176.

26. Tuhfatul Fuqarā, f. 92a. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 175.

27. Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgiri, trans. Sarkar, p. 69.
Ruqa'at-i-'Ālamgiri, p. 31. ed. M.A. Rahman, Kanpur.
Ahkam-i-'Alamgiri, Ānayat Khān, f. 211a.
Sulaiman Collection, Maulana Azad Library, AMU., Aligarh.

28. Had these noble been motivated by religious sentiments, execution of Abul Shakoor, his son, son-in-law was sufficient, Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, f. 92b.

Even the rural areas did not remain immune. In Soibug, some followers of Sheikh Ḥamzā Makhdoomī lodged a complaint of Sabbi-Suhāba against Rustum Māntū in the Court of Qāẓi Abdul Karīm. Rusṭum Māṇṭū was an influential Imamia Shia. He was thus executed under the orders of Qāẓi.[29]

Another incident occurred in the village of Ārwaṭ. The dispute aroused on the ownership of a mosque. The dispute, however, was settled by the personal intervention of Ṣubehdār not to the entire satisfaction of Sunnīs as he handed over the mosque to the Shias.[30] Thus the sectarian feelings induced by Mirza Ḥaidar Duglat kept the two sections divided throughout our period and during the Afghān rule, it further intensified. This mental dissention never allowed them to unite, and face the common foe jointly. The ultimate result was the loss of independence.

However, after the annexation the imperial policy was never aimed at the division of the masses. As a matter of fact strict steps were taken to put down such risings. The authorities were never prepared to tolerate any movement which posed threat to the internal security of the Empire. Even high influencial persons were not forgiven.

---

29. Tuḥfatul-Fuqārā, ff. 97a, 98b.
    Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 189.

30. Gouhar-i-'Ālam, pp. 284-85.
    This mosque was captured by Sunnis earlier, Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 163.

Khwājā Khāwand Mahmood was externed from Kashmir in spite of his popularity in the Ṣubāh and his influence at the imperial Court.[31] Being a preceptor of Jahān Ārā Begam and a close associate of the Mughal dynasty, the orders were not reversed. Similarly Aurangzeb did not forgive Saif Khān and Ibrāhim Khān on account of their partiality towards one section. The imperial policy was to maintain law and order in the Ṣubāh at any cost.

Ṣūfi Silsilāhs

Rishi order

Islam was introduced in the Subah through a number of preachers and by the middle of 14th century Muslim Rule was established in the kingdom. By this period the entire Middle East, Spain and almost whole of subcontinent was brought under the sway of Muslim Rule. Coming into contact with the major religions of world muslim philosophy did undergo a tremendous change. Many Ṣūfi orders were founded in order to provide psychological relief to the afflicted humanity. But when Islam found its way into this kingdom the Sufi orders had already achieved systematisation, organisation and elaboration of ideilogical concepts and code of ethics. But as elsewhere

---

31. Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, ff. 50, 80.
See also Naqashbandi Silsilah for details in this Chapter.

mystic theosophy could not absolve itself of the essentials of the assimilation of local phenomena. The cultural and social interaction with the local traditions made at sometimes queer expression. The influence of the shaive ideology resulted in the foundation of an indigenous mystic order. The founder of the this order was Sheikh Nooruddin Rishi.[1] Due to his efforts and favourable circumstances the ~~entire kingdom~~ order gained adherence in almost the entire kingdom. Its development was a sort of social protest against the committeed 'ulama.[2] The order was highly influenced by Shiviete philosophy, and in the course of time the role of ʿUlamʿ-i-Dahar (the worldly-minded theologians) drifted them towards asceticism.[3] They preferred to live a life of ascetics and had no charm in the worldly affairs. They abondoned marriage and moved from village to village.[4] They preferred to live on dry vegetables and fruits rather than taking up a luxurious life. They did not eat meat and did not marry.[5] In the course of time they even did not take

---

1. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, pp.223-24.
2. Baba Nasibuddin Gazi, 'Noor Nama', ff.215,18-219-25b.
3. Tarikh-i-Rashidi, tr. N. Elias, p. 436.
4. Faizi, Akbar Nama, f. 215b.
5. Tuhfatul Fuqarā, ff. 62-63.
   The Tazkiras of the saints are full of such evidences. When the saints lived for days together on such things. See Rishi Nama, Baba Nasibuddin Gazi, etc. etc. See also A.N., III, pp. 551-52. A'in, II, p. 170. Tuzuk, p. 301.

the basic fundamentals of Islam into consideration, and had legitimatized so many heresies.[6] They did not take into consideration what is moral and what is immoral.[7] According to their thinking the external forms of religion like prayers and fasts were essential for those who were not perfect. Most of them had become miracle-mongars and as such they interpreted dreams and displayed miracles, and at the same time most of them were devoid of religious and mystic knowledge.[7a]

There were more than two thousand Rishis living during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir,[8] Gouhar Ṣūfi,[9] Wahid Sufi,[10] Ahala Rishi Bābā,[11] Ropi Rishi Bābā, Nand Rishi disciple of Hardȳ Rishi, Netjī Rishi Pā'im Rishi, Āwat Rishi a disciple of Lāchan Rishi and Pasli Rishi disciple of Baba

---

6. Tārikh-i-Rashīdī, p. 436-37.
7. Ibid. 7a. Tārikh-i-Rashīdī, p.436; A'in, II, p.170; Tuzuk, 30
8. A'in, II, p. 170. Tuzuk, p. 301.
   Abul Faẓl considers them Brahmans, which is not a fact. Though they had ascetic tendencies, but they were not Hindus. See Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Mughals, pp. 223-224. Miss Azra Nizami in her article on Abul Fazl in Medieval India-A Miscellany, Vol. , pp. has not followed his statement and has not taken note of either Jarrets translation of A'in, II. or Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, pp. 274-5.
9. A.N., III, p. 547. Iqbal-Nama Jahangiri, II, p. 410.
10. A.N., III, pp. 549-51. Ahmad Bin Bahnambal, M'adani Akhbar, f. 329ab
11. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 118.

Hanifuddin were some of the more famous saints of the order.[12]

The ascetic and shaivite approach of Rishi order was not the correct answer to the expansion of Shia ideology. The new trends at the imp_erial Court, were also posing a challenge to the traditional Muslim thought. The ʿUlama on the other hand wanted to retain the controle of the imperial policy. The people in general withheld their support to the order on account of their inclination towards heterodox Islamic thought Besides there were inherent defects in the order too. It was not organized like other Sufi orders. They had neither khanqahs nor places for congregation where the new entrants could have received instructions. Thus under such pressures the order whic was already in disorganized shape collapsed and disintegrated during our period. It could not withstand the social force inherent in the Suharawardiya, Naqashbandhi, Chishtya and Qadiri order which were more or less systematically organized and close to the well-received Muslim thought.

The Suhrawardi Order

This silsilah was introduced and reorganized in the Subah by Sayyed Jamaluddin,[13] roughly in the late 16th

---

12. Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, ff. 62-63. Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir,pp.133-

13. The origin and development of the order had taken place a long way before the establishment of Mughal Rule in Kashmir. Therefore, no stress has been laid on the origin or development of this order. For the details, see K.A. Nizami, Some Aspects of Religion & Politics during the 13th Century, pp. 220-29. Tazkira Mulla Ali Raina, ff. 280a-281b. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 106.

century, but Sheikh Hamzā Makhdoomī was in body and spirit its real founder in the valley.[14]

Sheikh Hamzā was son of Bābā Usmān Raina, descendants of Chandarbansi Rajputs.[15] He was born in A.D. 1494. According to the tradition of the time he received primary education in his own village Tujar. He was yet in his tender age, when he attended the Madrasah, Dārul-Shafa of Bābā Ismā'il Kubravi.[16] He had a chance to learn at the feet of Sayyid Jamāluddīn Bukhāri who happened to be in Srinagar for a period of six months.[17] But theology, mystic philosophy, and logic were tought by Baba Ismail. Baba Ismail was himself a follower of Kubravi order.[18]

Sheikh Hamzā was extened from Srinagar by Gāzi Shāh Chak.[19] But these restriction were no impediments to his religious zeal. After the death of Gazi Shah Chak he returned to

---

14. R.K. Parmu is incorrect in his statement that the Sheikh was founder of Kubravi silsilah, A History of Muslim Rule, p. 434.
15. Mulla Ali Raina, Tazkiratul'Arifin, ff.280-81. Salar Afaqis article in Hunar-u-Murdum, Nos.112-13, Bahman, 1350, pp. 73-74.
16. Khāwriqu Sālikin, f. 143a.
17. Tuhfatul Fuqarā, f. 39. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 104.
18. Khāwāriqu Sālikin, f. 143a.
19. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 104. See also Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 58; Bamzai, A History of Kashmir, p. 534.

Srinagar and gave instructions to his disciples in the khānqāh of Bābā Ismāil.[20] He died in 1576.[21]

Baba Hamza had a chain of accomplished scholars as his disciples descending down to ages. Baba Dāud Khāki, Baba Nasibuddīn Gāzi, Sheikh Ali Raina, Khwājā Hasan Qāri, Mullāh Ahmad Chāquli, Khwājā Mīr Zooni Rishi, Hardi Baba, and 'Ali Tēli were his favourite disciples.[22] Baba Khaki and Baba Nasibuddin rose to the height of renown and received homage from hosts of people.

During our period the order underwent certain modifications. It counted highly learned personalities among its votaries, but the influence of Rishi ascetics became dominant. The Ulama followed worldly persuits and as such the order began to disintegrate during our period. As a matter of fact it had ceased to function as a Suhrawardiya order soon after the death of Sheikh Hamza Makhdoomi. His disciples more or less had their following in rural areas, and were known as

20. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 104.

21. The Author of Waqiat-i-Kashmir gives the date of his death 974/1567 which is not correct. His famous Wasiyat Nama preserved in S.P. Museum, Srinagar, bears his signatures. This document bears the date Jamadi I, 984/1576, 17th May; therefore, his death might have taken place after this date. The chronogram of Baba Daudoo Khaki supports our assumption, Sabir Afaqi, Hunar-o-Murdum, Nos.112-13, p. 73. P.N.K. Bamzai gives 1586 his expiry date, A History of Kashmir, p. 534.

22. See Chapter VII, Section II, See also Sabir Afaqi, Hunar-o-Murdum, Nos. 112-13, p. 73.

Makhdoom Babas.[23] The Babas were patronised by the Mughals. Grants in land and produce in kind were lavished on the khānqāh of Sheikh Ḥamzā for the maintenance of the disciple and the descendants of the saint.[24] However, the silsilah was comparatively well organised and khānqāhs were built where the saints gave instruction to the new entrants, and imparted religious education to the children.[25]

Naqashbandi Order

The order was introduced into the Subah by Khwaja Baba Wali of Khwārism in 1590-91. He was himself a disciple of Sheikh Husain Khwārism.[26] Bābā Wali came to Kashmir in 1590 and settled in the khānqāh of Sayyed Ali Hamadani. He attracted large crowds and in a shorter period became very popular.[27] The year 1592 was a period of turmoil and there was a revolt. The rebels approached him with a request

---

23. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 221.
24. See Chapter III, Section II.
25. Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, ff. 39-40b, 61a. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, pp. 106-7, 121, 122.
26. Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 109.
27. Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 109, Rizvi, A.A., Revivalist Movements in Northern India, 186n.

as to lead the rebellion. He not only rejected the offer but organized the people against the rising. Meanwhile, Yādgār Mirza had accepted the leadership and Baba was poisoned under his orders in 1592.[28] After his death the mantle fell on Bāqi Billāh. It was Bāqi Billāh who introduced and organised Naqashbandi silsilah in India.[29] Bāqi Bellāh remained in Kashmir for two years only, and then returned to Delhi where he died on 20th November 1603.[30]

Naqashbandi silsilah was an offshoot of silsilah Khwājgān. It was basically organized by Aḥmad ʿAṯā Yasvī. After his death it was revitalized by Khwājā Bahāuddīn Naqashband, hereafter the silsilah was called Naqashbandi silsilah.[31]

But the silsilah flourished under the guidance of Khwājā Khāwand Mahmood. He infused new vigour into the silsilah and reactivated and reorganized the order in the Ṣubāh. On account of his piety and profound knowledge, he exercised considerable influence over the people.[32] Khāwand Maḥmood

---

28. A.N., III, p. 617.
29. Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 110.
A.A. Rizvi, Revivalist Movement in Norther India, pp. 185-86.
30. A.A. Rizvi, Revivalist Movements in Northern India, p. 186.
31. Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, ff. 49-54a.
Nizami, K.A., Naqashbandi influence on Mughal rulers and Politics, cyclostyled article in the Seminar, Department of History, AMU., Aligarh.
32. Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahāni, f. 599.

was son of Mir Sayyid Sharif Khwājā, a descendant of ʿAllauddīn ʿAtār.[33] He was an eminent disciple of Khwājā Bahauddin Naqashband. Khwājā Khāwand Maḥmood was himself a disciple of Abū Isḥāq Dahbēdi.[34] Khwājā built a khānqāh in Srinagar where he carried on his work enthusiastically. He strongly opposed the Shia doctorine and under his influence the Shia spirit was dampened.[36] He sent a similar mission to Little Tibet which comprised Mullā Abdul Ḥasan, and Dāʿūd Kashmiri to check the expansion of the Nūrbakhshi order and to propagate the Naqashbandhi silsilah.[37] Khwājā Khāwand Mahmood was externed from Kashmir in 1636, and he settled in Lahore. His son, Khwaja Moinuddin, carried on his mission in Srinagar after the departure of the Khwājā.[38] Khwājā Moinuddin was tutored by his father, and in scholarship he even surpassed him. He had composed a few books beside the Mirʿāt-i-Tuyibā, biography of his father and earned among his contemporaries wide publicity.[39] Mulla Abdul

---

33. Qazvini, Badshah Nama, III, ff. 417-8.
34. Qazvini, Badshah Nama, III, ff. 417-8, Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, ff. 49a-54b.

36. Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, ff. 50a, 80a.
A.A. Rizvi, Revivalist Movements in Northern India, p. 183.

37. A.A. Rizvi, Revivalist Movements in Northern India, p. 183.

38. Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, ff. 50, 80,
Gouhar-i-'Ālam, p. 268.
Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 167-8.

39. Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, ff. 50, 80.
Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 168.
A.A. Rizvi, Revivalist Movement in Northern India, p. 183.

Fateh, Mullā Moḥammad Yousf, Mullā Abdunnabi, Mullā Sheikh Ahmad Muftī were his close associates.[40] They jointly prepared a treatize known as Futāwai-Naqashbandi under his guidance.[41]

Akhwand Mullā Kamāl

Mulla Kamāl was a famous saint of the order. He was a disciple of Khwaja Abdul Shahid Naqashbandi, a descendant of Hazrat Ubaidullah Ahrari.[42] He left Kashmir and settled at Syalkot, and later he left for Lahore. He died in 1699.[43] Sheikh Aḥmad Sarhindi and Maulānā Abdul Ḥakim Syalkoti were his close associates.[44]

Khwaja Haidar Natinoo

He was son of Khwājā Feroz. Feroz was himself a disciple of Abdu-Shahid Naqashbandi.[45] Khwājā Ḥaidar was initiated in the order by Baba Nasibuddin. Later he became disciple of Maulanā Jouhar, but achieved perfection under the

---

40. Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, f. 50; Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 168.
41. Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, f. 50; Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 168.
42. Qazvini, Badshah Nama, III, f. 419.
43. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 119.
44. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 119.
    Qazvini, Badshah Nama, III, p. 419.
45. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 143-44.

guidance of Sheikh Abdul Haq Muhadis Dehlavi.[46] He remained for a long time in his khānqāh but later returned to his native land, Kashmir.[47] He had a large number of disciples, and Mulla Abdul Hakim became very famous.[48] Khwāja Haidar died in 1649.[49]

Mulla Husain Khabaz

Mulla was a disciple of Sheikh Hasan Qāri, but after his departure to Mecca, he attended the khanqah of Abdu-Shahīd Ahrāri. It was he who initiated the Mulla into the Naqashbandi order.[50] He sternly criticized the Wajudi philosophy, and wrote a treatise Hidāya-tul-'Āma to accord a logical rejoinder to them.[51] Mulla Husain died in 1643/44.[52] The following few lines give us an insight into his philosophy.[53]

---

46. Tabaqāt-i-Shahjahani, f. 310a.
    Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 144.

47. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 144.

48. Mir Ghulām Āli Bilgrami, Ma'asirul Karām, I, p. 204.

49. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 144.

50. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 132.

51. A MS of the treatise is available in the Research Library, Srinagar.

52. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 132.

53. پس شریعت عین طریقت است و حقیقت است و حقیقت عین شریعت است در درخت میوه معرفت را
که میوه وصل است چنانکه ازان حاصل است پوست آن درخت که آب است. بجای حقیقت
است پس ازان آب را راه به میوه وصل از جانب پوست که شریعت است و نه غیر پوست
است اگر به پوست حکم بیا شد از بیخ تا شاخ همه درخت منکر می شود - و امید وصل حاصل منقطع گردد
هدایت الاعمی صفحه ۲۲۱

Besides the above mentioned saints, Shah Qasim Haqani, Hayat Beg and Haji Mustafa Roomi were also votaries of the Naqashbandi silsilah.

The Naqashbandi order flourished in the Subah during the Mughal rule. Its sphere was further widened by the efforts of Sirhindi saints. Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi, Sheikh Abdul Affad Sirhindi, Sheikh M'asum Raza had a large following in Kashmir.[54] They visited Kashmir from time to time and most influential family of the Muftis became their staunch followers.[55]

Akhun Mulla Husain Khabaz, Khwaja Sadiq Soodh, Maulana Abdul Rashid Zargar, Maulana Haidar Bach and Mahdi Ali Sopori were initiated by the Sirhindi saints into the Naqashbandi silsilah.[56]

The Chishti Silsilah

Like the Naqashbandi order, this silsilah was introduced during the Mughal rule. Accordingly it flourished in our period, but it was not so popular as the Naqashbandi order.

---

54. Tuzuk, p. 308. Tuhfatul Fuqara, f.77b. Gouhar-i-'Alam, pp. 289, 294-5. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, pp. 132, 134, 166.
55. Tuhfatul Fuqara, f. 51.
56. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, pp. 132, 134, 166.

It was Sheikh Yaqoob Sarfi, who organised the silsilah in the Subah.[57] Sheikh Yaqoob was the son of Sheikh Hasan Ganai. He was born in 1520-21 and died in June, 1595.[58] He was very intelligent and his memory was very keen. He committed the holy Quran to memory when he was seven years of age.[59] On attaining maturity he left for India and widely toured, India, Central Asia, the holy cities of Islam, Madina and Mecca, in the company of Sheikh Salim Chishti in 1556-57.[60] Before joining Sheikh Salim, he had already got an opportunity to attend the khanqah of Sheikh Husain Khwarism.[61] He learnt Hadith from Sheikh Hajar Sindhi.[62] Sheikh Sarfi won the ~~little~~ title of Sheikhi Umam on account of his profound knowledge and scholarship.[63] Even scholars like Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi learned

57. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 110.
Futuhat-i-Kubravi, pp. 223-24.

58. Muntakhibu Tawarikh, II, p. 403, III, 148.
His date of birth in Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 110, is 978/1570-71, which appears to be a clerical mistake. See also Abdul Hamid Irfani, Iran-i-Saqir, p. 164.

59. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 110.
Futuhat-i-Kubravi, ff. 220a-b.

60. Badauni, Muntakhibut Tawarikh, III, 11
Waqiat-i-Kashmir, pp. 110-11.

61. A'in, II, p. 175. Insha 891/5528, f. 160a Sulaiman Collection, Maulana Azad Library, AMU., Aligarh. Badauni, Muntakhibut Tawarikh, III, pp. 142-43

62. Insha, 891/5528, f. 116a, Sulaiman Collection, M.A. Library, AMU., Aligarh.

63. Badauni, Muntakhibut Tawarikh, II, p. 393.
A'in, I, p. 175.

Hadith from Sheikh Yaqoob Sarfi.[64] Sheikh Yaqoob Sarfi had a large number of followers. Mir Ahmad was his favourite disciple and was declared his vicegerent and successor by the Sheikh.[65] Mir Ahmad lived a simple life, and possessed no more than one shirt.[66] Mir Ahmad was invited by Sultan Husain, Chief of Pakhli.[67] He built a khanqah also for the Mir. He died on 21st July, 1607.[68] Mir Hamza, son of Haji Murad,[69] Sheikh Mohammad Yousf,[70] Sheikh Musa Zahgir, Mulla Haji Ganai, Mulla Haji Bandi,[71] Habibullah Noushahri and Mulla Tahir were some of the famous disciples of Sarfi.[71a] These saints and scholars kept on initiating their own disciple in continuous process and thus the order continued to expand and flourish.

---

64. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 110.
    A.A. Rizvi, Revivalist Movements in Northern India, p. 206.
    G.M.D. Sufi, Kashir, II, p. 363. For details of his literary works, see Chapter VII.
65. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 120.
66. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 120.
67. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 120.
68. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 120.
69. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 120.
70. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 130.
71. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 128.
71a. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 128.

Kubravi Order

Kubravi order was introduced soon after the establishment of Muslim Rule in Kashmir by Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani.[72] But the order had almost disintegrated by the end of 16th century. Baba Ismail Kubravi tried to reorganize and revitalise the silsilah, but it did not make much headway[73] in the face of the growing popularity of the Naqashbandi order. Some of the Kubravi saints also became the adherents of Naqashbandi silsilah.[74]

Qadiri Silsilah

This order was introduced by Sayyid Ismail Shami into Kashmir during 1584-85.[75] The Sayyid was a disciple of Sayyid Mohammad Qadiri.[76] In Kashmir the Sayyid became a close friend of Baba Daud Khaki.[77] On the request of the Sayyid, Baba Khaki placed Mir Nazuk Qadiri under his tutorship.[78]

---

72. The contention of Noorullah Shostari is Mir Sayyed Ali was a Shia, Majalisul Moominin, p. 49, which is not born out by facts. See Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 58.

73. R.K. Paramu is not supported by contemporary evidence that Sheikh Hamza Makhdoomi was the founder of Kubravi order in Kashmir, A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, p. 434. See Supra. 13 of this Section.

74. Sheikh Musa Baldimari was a famous Kubravi saint of his time. After his return from Mecca he joined the Naqashbandi silsilah, Waqiat-i-Kashmir, pp. 130-1.

75. Tuhfatul Fuqara, ff. 47ab. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, pp.105-6

76. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 105.

77. Tuhfatul Fuqara, f. 47b.

78. Mir Nazuk Qadiri was a descendant of Qazi Moosa Shahid, and a great grandson of Qazi Mir Ali, Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 126.

Mir Nazuk Qadiri surpassed his preceptor. Under the guidance of Mir Nazuk Qadiri, the silsilah made tremendous development.[79] It was the Mir who revitalized and organized the order.[80] After his death, his son, Mir Mohammad Yousf, took-over the charge of the headship in 1614-15.[81] He introduced zikr-bil-jahar in his daily performances like that prevalent in the Kubravi silsilah.[82] Mir Mohammad Yousf was succeeded by his son, Mir Ali Muhammad Qadiri, in 1619.[83] Under his guidance the silsilah attained great eminence. He died in 1662-63.[84]

During the reign of Shahjahan, Qadiri silsilah reached its climax in Kashmir through the efforts of Mulla Shah Badakhshi, the preceptor of Dara Shukoh.[85]

Mulla Shah Badakhshi, son of Akhwand Mulla Abdi, was a native of Araksaw, a village in Badakhshan.[86] His original name was Muhammad Shah, but in Kashmir he was known as

---

79. Tuhfatul Fuqara, f. 48a.

80. Tuhfatul Fuqara, f. 43. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, pp. 126-27.

81. Tuhfatul Fuqara, f. 48a. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 128.

82. Tuhfatul Fuqara, f. 48a.

83. Qazvini, Badshah Nama, III, f. 424.
Sakinatul Aulia, p. 167.

84. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, pp. 128, 163.

85. Sakinatul Aulia, p. 167. Mohammad Sadiq Khan, Tarikh-i-Shahjahani, wa 'Alamgiri, f. 110a.

86. Sakinatul Awlia, p. 152. Risala Jahan Ara Begam, f. 2. Tawakul Beg Kulabi, Nuskha-i-Ahawal-i-Shahi, f. 6a.

Akhwand Mulla Shah Badakhshi.[87] After his migration from his native land he settled at Lahore where he was initiated into the order by Miyan Mir.[88] Mulla Shah spent winter at Lahore and summer in Kashmir, but after the death of Miyan Mir he permanently settled in Kashmir.[89] Dara Shukoh built a mosque and a turkish bath for him within the walled city of Nagar Nagar.[90]

After his settlement in Kashmir, his relatives also came from Badakhshan and settled in Kashmir.[91]

Mulla Shah Badakhshi had great influence at the imperial Court. Dara Shukoh, and Jahan Ara Begam were his devoted disciples and he was highly respected by Shahjahan also.[92] Wazier S'adullah Khan counted among his followers.[93]

---

87. <u>Sakinatul Awlia</u>, p. 152.
<u>Tuhfatul Fuqara</u>, f. 41b.

88. Qazvini, <u>Badshah Nama</u>, III, f. 424.
<u>Dabistan-i-Mazahib</u>, pp. 386-87.
Tawakul Beg Kulabi, <u>Nuskha-i-Ahwal-i-Shahi</u>, f. 6b.
<u>Tuhfatul Fuqara</u>, ff. 41b, 42a.

89. Qazvini, <u>Badshah Nama</u>, III, f. 424.
Tawakul Beg Kulabi, <u>Nuskha-i-Ahwal-i-Shahi</u>, f. 6b.

90. Tawakul Beg, Kulabi, <u>Nuskha-i-Ahwal-i-Shahi</u>, f.18a.
<u>Tuhfatul Fuqara</u>, ff. 41b-42a. The mosque is in ruins now. See Chapter VII, and the Plate No.

91. <u>Risala Jahan Ara Begam</u>, f. 4. <u>Tuhfatul Fuqara</u>, f. 42a.

92. Lahori, <u>Badshah Nama</u>, II, p. 207. See also <u>Risala Jahan Ara Begam</u>. Tawakul Beg Kulabi, <u>Nuskha-i-Ahwal-i-Shahi</u>, ff. 29a, 44b.

93. Lahori, <u>Badshah Nama</u>, II, p. 207.
<u>Waqiat-i-Kashmir</u>, p. 162.

On the conclusion of the war of succession, Mulla Shah Badakhshi became a victim of Aurangzeb's wrath.[94] In spite of his considerable influence, he was directed to leave Srinagar immediately on the receipt of the order.[95] He left the valley and settled in Lahore where he died in abject poverty.[96]

Mulla Miskin Mughal, Mullah Shah Gadai, Qazi Salih, Mulla Abdu Nabi, Khwaja Hasan Bach, Qazi Abdul Rahim, and Khwaja Mohammad Amin Nawachoo, were his prominent disciples.[97]

The Qadiri saints introduced Islam in the far-off regions of Kashtawar during the reign of Shahjahan.[98]

Shah Farid-ud-Din a descendant of Mir Sayyid Abdul Qadir Gilani introduced Islam in Kashtawar. He was born in 1592-93, at Baghdad. He came to India during the reign of Shahjahan and remained at Agra and Delhi for sometime.[99] During the same regim he left for Kashtawar and settled in the vicinity of Lakishmi Narain Temple.[100] His presence was soon

---

94. Tuhfatul Fuqara, f. 42a.
95. Tuhfatul Fuqara, f. 42a. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 162.
96. Tawakul Beg Kulabi, Nuskha-i-Ahwal-i-Shahi, ff. 13b, 24a, 28b, 37a.
Tuhfatul Fuqara, f. 42b.
Hutichson, History of the Punjab Hill States, II, p. 654.
97. Tawakul Beg Kulabi, Nuskha-i Ahwali Mulla Shahi, ff 13b, 37a
98. Tuhfatul Fuqara, f. 42b. Hutichson, History of the Punjab Hill States, II, p. 654.
99. Rouzatul Arifin, f. 3a. Hutickson, History of the Punjab States, II, p. 654.
100. Hutichson, History of the Punjab Hill States, II, p. 654

felt and large crowds attended his meetings. Meanwhile Raja Jai Singh the Chieftain of Kashtawar heard about the miracles of the saint. He attended his meetings. The Raja was so much impressed by his piety and high learning that he embraced Islam under the title of Bakhtiyar Khan.[101] Faridud Din was succeeded by his son, Shah Asrarud-Din. He was brought up and initiated into the order by his father. Raja Kirat Singh who had succeeded Raja Jai Singh was also converted to Islam under the name of Sa'adat Yar Khan.[102] After the death of Shah Asrarud-Din, the mission continued to function under the able guidance of Shah Ambiya-ud-Din and Shah Badrud-Din.[103] The latter has a number of disciples in the valley also.[104] He died in Kashmir and his body was taken to Kashtawar and burried there.[105]

However, the conversion of the chieftain did not mean a mass scale conversion.[106]

Check ✓

101. Rouzatul Arifin, f. 15a. Hutichson, History of the Punjab Hill States, II, p. 654.
Sabir Afaqi, "Huner-o-Murdum", Nos. 112-13. Bahman 1374, p. 89.
Fedric Drew, Northern Barrier of India, pp. 82-83.

102. Rouzatul Arifin, f. 15a. Hutichson, History of the Punjab Hill States, II, p. 654.
F. Drew, Territories of Jamoo & Kashmir, pp.82,119-20. See also Chapter I, Section II.

103. Rouzatul Arifin, f. 13a-b.

104. Tuhfatul Fuqara,ff. 13ab. Rouzatul Arifin, p. 17a.

105. Rouzatul Arifin, p. 17a.

106. Forster, From Bengal to England, I, p. 349.

Nurbakhshi Silsilah

The order though in the process of decline in the period may be mentioned here as its postulates betrayed mystic learning. We have also discussed it above in the context of Shia-Sunni problem. The order was introduced into the Subah by Mir Shamsuddin Iraqi.[106a] As a matter of fact, it was basically a mystic order, but had close affinity to the Shia ideology and gradually it came to be associated too closely to the Shiite creed. Iraqi's son, Daniyal, introduced this order to Askardoo and Kargil.[107] All this development took place before the Mughal annexation.

After the conquest of Mirza Haidar, the movement received a set back and its strongholds were destroyed.[108] The movement meanwhile then showed disinclination to be a mystic order. It was now a political movement and as such could not withstand the pressure of other political groups.[109]

After the fall of Chak rule in 1586, the Maliks of Chadoora were the adherents and advocates of this sect.

106a. Firishta, II, p. 350. A'in, II, p. 185. See also Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, pp. 283-88.

107. Nurullah Shostari, Majali-sul-Muminin, p. 49.

108. Baharistan-i-Shahi, ff. 119a-120.

109. See Chapter V, Section I. See also Census Report, 1891, p. 17 of J&K State.

During the reign of Jahangir, the khanqah of Hasanabad and Zadibal were rebuilt,[110] but henceforth there was no further expansion. Only some followers of this sect, lived in a few pockets of the valley and a small number lived in Askardoo and Kargil.[111]

Before concluding the Chapter, we may take notice of the developments which took place within the Hindu population.

By the end of 14th century, there was en mass conversion and the only section which resisted was those of the Brahmans. They continued to enjoy the benefits of the offices as this was the only literate section. Even during our period they enjoyed these benefits without any hindrance.[112] Therefore, there were no substantial changes in the socio-economic life of this section. So far as the philosophy of Hinduism is concerned, it had already achieved a high level of soundness and perfection but its further development was restrained.[113] The Mughal period, therefore, did not witness any change in the Hindu ideology. Adit, Rishi Pir Pandit, and Roopa Bhawani, attained

---

110. See Chapter V, Section I. See Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, pp. 213b-214a.

111. A'in, II, p. 175. See also Census Report of 1891, p. 17 of J&K State.

112. See Chapter, II, Section IV.

113. See Indian Culture and Social Life etc, pp. 152-228, by Prof. Muhammad Habib in Politics & Society during the Early Medieval Period, Vol. I, ed. K.A. Nizami, People's Publishing House, 1974.

tremendous popularity in Hindu philosophy with remarkable aptitute to synthesise the ideological concepts of Hinduism and Islam. Adit Das joined the imperial Court soon after the annexation. We don't get any further information about him. He died in 1594-95.[114]

Rishi Pir Pandith:

He was born in 1637 in a fairly orthodox Brahmin family.[115] From his very childhood, he was inclined towards religion. After attaining maturity, he learned Yogic philosophy from Krishnakar.[116] Rishi Pir was a close associate of Akhwand Mulla Shah.[117] The impact of his teachings was quite considerabl But in the course of time he turned to be a miracle monger and taken to luxurious worldly life.[118]

Roopa Bhawani:

Roopa was born in 1625. Her father, Pandit Mahadev Dhar, was a respectable person of his community.[119] Roopa was married in her tender age which proved a failure. She

---

114. A.N. III, p. 662. A'in, I, p. 166. See also Blochmann (translation) of A'in-i-Akbari, p. 608.
115. Birbal Kachrroo, Majmu-ut-Tawarikh, f. 216a. Bamzai, A History of Kashmir, p. 500.
116. R.K. Parmu, A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, pp. 222-3.
117. Bamzai, A History of Kashmir, p. 500.
118. P.N.K. Bamzai, A History of Kashmir, p. 500.
119. Prof. Hajini, Kashir Shairi, p. 19.

was exposed to tremendous hardships which ultimately pushed her into mystic lore. She was a pupil of Shah Sadiq Qalandar.[120] Her poetry is full of mystic experiences. She died at a ripe age of 96 years in 1721.[121]

The impact of these social and religious movements on the society were of quite considerable importance. On one side Islam made its headway in the far flung areas of Kashtawar, Rajouri, Noushahra and Little and Greater Tibet, and on the other side it enriched the indigenous culture. Art, architecture and literature of Kashmir flourished and consequently a new social order evolved. We have already mentioned that the state policy was never based on a partisan attitude. So long as the interest of state were not jeopardised no action could be taken against any section or individual, but there vigilance and resistance and chastisement if any section or individual threatened the stability of the Empire. Khwaja Khawand Mahmood, Mulla Husain Subazwari, Mulla Shah Badakhshi and similar other saints were externed from Kashmir just because their presence was not looked with favour as posing a threat to the interests of the state.[122] The Mughal emperors, as a matter of fact, followed a liberal policy and the individual liberty was never threatened.[123] It is because of

120. P.N.K. Bamzai, A History of Kashmir, p. 499.

121. Prof. Hajini, Kashir Sha'iri, p. 19.

122. See Chapter V, Section II.

123. Angus Maddison, Class Structure and Economic growth India and Pakistan since the Moghuls, p. 15, London, 1970.

such an attitude that various religious and social movements flourished during this period. These sufi movements together various fragments of the society. The mutual understanding among various ideological groups, developed and a new class or group of free thinkers came into existence. This class represented all the sections of the society. Mullah Shah Badakhshai,[124] Mulla Husain Sabzwāri,[125] Shah Sadiq Qalandar,[126] Mulla Tahir Gani,[127] Mulla Mohsin,[128] Roopa Bhawani, Rishi Pir Pandith,[129] and Sheikh Akmalud-Dīn,[130] were the advocates of this ideology. Ibrāhim Kākāk and Yousf Diwan were also exponents of the free thought.[131] They believed in the unity of God and equality of all the religions. They had no bias against any religion. Mullah Shāh, Shāh Sādiq Qalandar, Mulla Mohsin Fāni, Ibrahim Kakak and Yousf Diwana enrolled disciples from all sections of the society.[132] Sheikh Akmalud-Din Kamil, Haji Aslam, Salim, and Mulla Tahir, have propounded their ideology through their poetry.[133]

---

124. Sakinatul Awlia, pp. 151-3. Risala Jahan Ara Begam, ff. 6-7. See also Section II, Part 'b' of this Chapter. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, pp. 161-2.
125. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 190.
126. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 181.
127. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 170.
128. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 170. Sabir Afaqi, Hunar-o-Murdum, pp. 112-13. Isfandiyar 1374, pp. 79-85.
129. See above ffotnotes, 115 and 118.
130. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 224.
131. Dabistan-i-Mazahib, pp. 216-17.
132. Dabistan-i-Mazahib, pp. 216-17.
133. The following couplet of Kamil throws some light on the ideology of the author:

چون بدیدم دو جهان را که سواد لوح هند — چشم پوشیدم دیدم دو نظر بگشادم

اکمل الدین همین لقب دارد — مذهبش وحدت است و یکتائی

CHAPTER VIII

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The period under review witnessed many developments in the economic field. We have already discussed the important features in the sphere of agriculture in chapter II. It is appropriate here to deal with the main developments in industry, trade and commerce, condition of workers, their professions, the volume of foreign trade, imports, skilled and minor crafts and the like to give a complete picture to the society in the Mughal Ṣubāh of Kashmir.

In the rugged and hilly terrain of Kashmir, passes and routes connecting the various parts of the region with another and access to the outside world were of paramount importance. It is thus appropriate to discuss the trade routes in Mughal Kashmir before coming to the discussion of trade, industry and other aspects.

Trade Routes

Surrounded by an urbroken chain of high mountains Kashmir was physically hampered to keep pace with the economic development of the rest of the Empire. Trade and commerce could not flourish on account of these natural restraints.[1] But this ring of mountains was pierced by various passes which established links with the outside world and ensured the needs of the land being fulfilled by contacts with the people inhabiting other lands. The Mughal occupation enhanced the importance of the Ṣubāh, and a regular link was maintained with the rest of Empire. The routes received extra care and were maintained properly.

Abul Fazl states that there were twenty six routes linking Kashmir with the outside world.[2] The Central Asian trade route passed through Kashmir, connecting India with Central Asia. But only six routes were of great importance. These routes remained open for the most part of the year. Even during the winter months merchants traversed the routes though with great difficulties.

The Mughals paid great attention to the maintenance of these routes. Rivers were spanned with bridges,[3] and inns were built

---

1. Irfan Habib, 'Government And Economic Life', p.24, cyclostyled article in the Seminar of the Department of History, AMU.,Aligarh.
2. A'in, II, p. 169.
3. Nurullah Shostari, Majālisul-Mominīn, pp. 49-50. Sadiq Khān, Tarikh-i-'Alamgiri, p. 53a. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, pp. 169-70. Iqbal-Nama-Jahangiri, III, p. 559.

all along to provide shelter to the travellers. These steps gave a fillip to the trade and commerce of the Ṣubāh.

The imperial or Mughal road, Muzzafarabad-Pakhli route, Kashtawar-Wardwan route, Zojilla route, and Punch route, were of great significance.[4]

Mughal Road

This route connected Kashmir with Gujrat and it was frequently used by the Mughal monarchs.[5] It runs over the Pir Panjal Pass, via Hastivanj.[6] Greater part of the route is hilly. In 1589, Moḥammad Qāsim Khān was directed to level and widen the route. Thereafter it was made passable for pack loads, ponies, mules and elephants,[7] but on account of its high altitude it remained closed during the winter months.[8]

---

4. Lahori, Badshah Nama, (I) II, p. 15.
   Iqbal Nama, III, p. 564.
   Alamgir Nama, p. 720.
   Ma'asir-i-'Alamgiri, tr. Sarkar, p. 26.

5. Fedric Drew, Territories of Jamoo & Kashmir, pp. 91-94, 156.
   Lawrance, The Valley of Kashmir, pp. 23, 383-84.
   Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 24.
   In A'in, II, p. 169, it is Hastivater.

6. A.N., III, p. 538, Beveridge has also accepted it as Hastiwater, p. 821. See also Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 24.

7. A.N., III, p. 538.

8. Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri, f. 131a.

Bhimbhar, the starting point for the valley attained great importance.[9] A strong force was stationed here during the visits of the Mughal emperors to Kashmir.[10] Heavy armour was also mounted on Bhimbhar.[11] Next halting place was Adhidak. It is at a distance of 6 miles from Bhimbhar.[12] The important stages on this route were Saidābād,[13] Noushahra,[14] Chingas,[15] Rajouri,[16] Thanā,[17] Bahrāmgallā,[18] Poshiāna,[19]

9. Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, p. 390.
10. A.N.,III, p. 537.
Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, p. 390.
11. A.N.,III, p. 537. A small town in lat.32°-8',long.74°8 about 150 miles from Srinagar.
12. A.N.,III, p. 538, gives the name of place Adidat. But in Bates Gazetteer, p. 163, and in the prepared by Montgomery in 1859, it is Adhidak. Beveridge names it as Aditak. A.N. III (translation), p. 819. It is callec Kajidar Pass also. A.N., III, p. 538. In Rannels' Map, it is Uddi Duka. It is in long.74° - 11', lat.33°-3
13. Saidabad is about 13 miles from Bhimbhar.
14. Noushahra was an important town lying in the territory of Kashmir Subah. A garrison was always stationed here. A.N.,III,p. 538; Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 17. It was considered a gateway of Kashmir. A garrison was stationed here. A.N.,III, p. 538.
15. Chingas Long.74°-18'-Lat.32°-15', is half way between Noushahra and Rajouri. In Badshah Nama, it is Chouki Hati, which appears to be a clerical mistake. Lahori, Badshah Nama, I, p. 17. See Survey Map by Montgomary. Forster calls it Chingeque Hati, Early Travels,p.169.
16. Ancient Rajpuri, A.N.,III, p. 540, Rāmpuri of Montgomary's map. See also Forster, From Bengal to England, II, p. 349.
17. Thanā is 8 miles from Bahrāmgallā, and 14 miles from Rajouri, Beveridge, A.N.,III, p. 832 n.
18. Bahramgalla is a village near Pir Panjal Pass (11400 ft.) in lat. 33° 36', long. 74° 27', in the gorge of Ratinpir Pass.
19. Poshiāna is a village 30 miles from Rajouri in the

Aliabād,[20] Hirapura,[21] Shopiyan,[22] and Khampora.[23]

Most difficult part of the road was that which connected Noushahra with Aliabad; thence to Srinagar it was quite easily passable. It was studded on the side by over twelve inns which were built by Akbar and his successors.[24] These inns were located at Jahangir Hati,[25] Noushahra,[26] Rajouri, Thanā,[27] Bahrāmgallā, Shāji-Marg, and Khampōrā.[28] These places developed into busy trade centres and their importance did not diminish even as late as the establishment of the Sikh rule over the Ṣubāh.[29]

---

20. The ancient name was, perhaps, Dund, A.N., III, p.541. Ali Mardan Khan built a Sarai in its vicinity, and henceforth it was called Aliabad. See also Beveridge, A.N., III, p. 823.

21. A village 7 miles south-west of Shopyan in lat.33° 41' long. 74° 46'.

22. A township of the same name in lat.33° 44', long.74°53' 29 miles away from Srinagar.

23. Khampur is situated 10 miles south of Srinagar. See Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, 140n. In the text of A.N., III, p. 542, it is Khanpora. In the map of Rennel, while it is kanpour in A Memoir of a Map of Hindoustan, op.cit., p. 65. In Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, it is Khanpura, in lat.33° 56', long. 74° 52', p. 487.

24. Faizi, Akbar Nama, ff. 242a. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 469. Mohammad Kazim, 'Alamgir Nama, p. 721.

25. Kumbu, Amal-i-Salih, II, pp. 13-14, 16, 19-20, II, 18, 469. It is called Chingas also, Fredric Drew, Territories of Jamoo & Kashmir, p. 94. Foaster, Early Travels in India, p. 169.

26. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 469

27. Kumbu, Amal-i-Salih, II, pp. 22-23, 469.

28. Kumbu, Amal-i-Salih, II, pp. 18, 22-24.

29. G.T. Vigue, Travels in Kashmir & Ladakh, I, p. 225. See also Rennel, Memoir of A Map of Mughal Empire, pp. 132-138. The names are wrongly spelt which create some confusion.

Muzaffarabad Pakhli Route

The route connected Kashmir with Rawalpindi and thence with Peshawar. It was also frequently used during our period. In 1589, Akbar left Kashmir by the same route because it was situated on a comparatively lesser elevation and snowfall too was not heavy there. He appointed Hāshim Bēg Khān, son of Qāsim Khān, to widen the route below Bārāmulla.[30] The route remained almost traversable even during the winter months[31] and ponies and pack horses, elephants, and even heavy armour were carried on this route.[32] Jahangir also issued orders to maintain the road in good order. In 1622, Nooruddīn Qulī was appointed to rebuild the road and span the rivulets.[33] He was assisted by Malik Ali also.[34] In 1640, during his visit, Shahjahan sent Rājā Jagat Singh to repair this route,[35] and Ḥusain Bēg was deputed in 1655 for the same purpose.[36]

---

30. A.N.,III, p. 371.
31. Kamgar Husain, Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri, p.131.
 Lahori, Badshah Nama, I, p. 15, II, p. 183.
32. Ibid. 27 n. Ḥasan, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, I, ff. 76-77.
33. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, pp. 288, 291.
 Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 182.
 Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 221a.
34. Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, ff. 221a-b.
35. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 183.
36. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 416.

The starting point of the route was the ferry of the Indus near Attock.[37] It passed through Hasanābadāl up to river Kunhār.[38] The river was forded below Gadhi Habibullah at Shangraf Kani, on the border of Pakhli.[39] After crossing Kishan Ganga it moved along with the left bank of the Jehlum up to Baramulla. From Baramulla to Srinagar there were two routes. The route over the river Jehlum and Noupora-Pattan route.[40]

Punch Route

The easiest route connecting Punch with the valley was through Ḥājī Pīr Pass.[41] It was virtually an offshort of Pakhli route. The important stages below Baramulla were Rāmpūr, Gori,[42] Hatinā, Haidarābād, Aliābād, Khota and Punch.[43] Another

---

37. The distance between Attock to Srinagar is 96 kos 77 poles. A.N.,III, p. 584.

38. During our period the river was known as Nain Sukh, A.N., III, p. 375. In the survey map of 1869, it bears both the names. A Sarai was built on the left bank of Nain Sukh river by Akbar, Tuzuk,pp.221,2; Iqbal Nama, III, p. 559.

39. A.N.,III, p. 377. Shangraf Kani is not traceable it should be Malgalee of the maps. See Tuzuk, p.289 also

40. Tuzuk, p. 292. A.N.,III, pp. 557-58. Noupora is a village about two miles away on the left side of Srinagar Baramulla road. Beveridge suggests the name of this village Tapar, A.N.,III, p. 846. Tapar is only four miles from Pattan.

41. Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, III, p. 564. F. Drew, Territories of Jammoo & Kashmir,pp.205-6.

42. A mud fort was also at Gori. It is an ordinary village fourteen miles from Rampur.

43. Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 76.

route shoots from Gori to Mari,[44] while Punch was linked with Jammu via Rajouri. Suran, Thanā, Rajouri, Dharamsāla, Akhnoor are important stages on this route.[45] It remained open throughout year and snowfall was quite insignificant.

Poonch was linked with the valley by another route also. It was accross Tosamaidan Pass (14000). It was of great strategical importance, but on account of high elevation it remained under snow for more than six months in the year.[46]

Kashtawār Route

There are two routes leading into Kashtawār from Kashmir. From Islamabad one goes by way of Singhpora[46a] and another via Dasu.[47] The first Mughal attack on Kashtawār was

---

44. Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, ff. 76-77.
See Drew, Jammoo and Kashmir Territories, pp. 137-39.

45. Suran is a village 13 miles south of Punch in lat. 33° 40', long. 74° 17'.

46. Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 77.
Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, pp.23-24.
Lawrance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 15.

46a. Singhpora is a village about 32 miles north-east of the town of Kashtawar in the lat. 33°28' and long.75°37 on the Kashtawār side of Mārbal Pass. Bates Gazetteer, pp. 343-45.

47. Dusu is 3 to 4 miles above Nowbagh in the lat.33°37' and long. 75°28'. Kuthār is about 12 miles below this village. Bates' Gazetteer, p. 312.

launched by the same routes.[48] It connected Kashtawār with Badrawah and Jammu through Rāmban.[49] The road from Kashmir remained open for a longer duration but it was traversed on foot, and ponies were rarely used because of its uneven terrain.[50]

Central Asian Trade Route

The road traverses nearly the whole of Ladakh from east to west.[51] It was passable during the period from March till November, but on account of its commercial importance, the merchants very often used it during the winter season as well.[52] It connected Kashmir with Central Tibet, Kāshgar, Yārkand and China. The trade of Kashmir with Bhutān, Nepāl, and Bengāl was also carried on by this route.[53] As a **matter** of fact this route

---

48. Tuzuk, p. 295. See Chapter I, Section II.

49. Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, ff. 76-78. See also Drew, Jammoo & Kashmir Territories, pp. 139-40. The author had traced more than five routes connecting Kashmir with Kashtawar. These were simply a combination of Pir Panjal and Mughal Route.

50. Tuzuk, p. 295.

51. Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, XII, 1850,p.378.

52. Desideri, Travels (tr. Fillipo De), pp.74-75. Cunningham, Ladakh, Political, Physical,etc. p.148. This route was followed by Father Desideri an Italian traveller in 1714. In 19th century another Italian traveller, Fillipo de Filipi, also used the same route I have taken help from their works mainly, Desideri, Travels (tr. by Fillipo De Filipi) and Fillipo-De-Filipi, Antiquities of Indian Tibet,Vol.II. The latter has also translated the Desideri's account into English.Aḥmad Shāh Naqashbandi a native of the Ṣubāh has also provided us with a detailed description of this important trade route. It has been translated into English by Dowson Ross in Royal Asiatic Society, London, Vol.12,1850.Cunninghams accounts Ladakh - Physical, political,etc.substantiates our information. See also Moorcroft & G. Trebic, Travels in the Himalayan Provinces,etc. II,pp.211-51.

53. Ahmad Shah Naqashband,Route From Kashmir via Ladakh to Yarqand,tr.Dowson Ross,Royal Asiatic Society,London,12.1850,pp. 373-377.

was the life vein of the woollen industry of Kashmir. The entire shawl wool was brought to the valley through this road.[54] A number of towns and market places emerged on sites along this route.[55] It was important both commercially and strategically. Mirza Haidar Dughlat launched his first attack on Kashmir in 1530 passing through this route and in the subsequent Mughal invasions on Little & Greater Tibet under Shahjahan and Aurangzeb the same route provided the passage and facilitated the task of the invading forces.[56]

On account of the high elevation and scarcity of fodder most of trade was carried on by the porters on their backs.[57] Horses, mules, and yaks, were also put into service.[58] The beasts of burden were usually exchanged at Dras and Leh for onward march.[59]

---

54. Tuzuk, p. 300.
    Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, p. 402-3.
    Desideri, Travels (tr. Fillipo-de Filipi),p.53.

55. Desideri, Travels, pp. 74-75.

56. See Chapter I, Section II.

57. Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, p. 392.
    Desideri, Travels, pp. 20-21.

58. JRAS, London, 1850, pp. 373-4.

59. JRAS, London, XII, 1850, pp. 373-4. Leh was an exchange market for the goods brought from Central Asia, India, and Kashmir. The carvans mostly exchanged their merchandize here and returned to their native lands.

From Srinagar to Baltal the road is quite comfortably passable even for all kinds of beasts of burden. Bālṭal is about twenty miles from Sonamarg at altitude of 1157° feet above sea-level.[60] From there begins mountainous track. Bālṭal is the last inhabited village on the side of Kashmir, and Matayan lies on the other side of the Zojīllā Pass at a height of 10700 feet. From here the route turns on along with the Dras river up to Kargil, and passes to Purig valley as far as Waka, leaving Pashkyum on the left side.[62] Here it leave Waka river behind and crosses Namyika Pass (1300'). It then keeps up with the defile and the river Kānji is crossed below Pholo-Law Pass. Then it leads to Lāmāyūr.[63] From here it **follows** the course of Wanlā-chū to its confluence with the Indus below the bridge of Khallach.[64] Crossing the river Indus

---

60. Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jammu, etc.etc.pp.415-17.

61. This range is called Kuknagir, Amal-i-Salih, II.p.58. Kantil of Desideri, Travels, etc. p. 73. ~~Batos~~ and Matayan of Cunningham, Ladakh-Political, etc. etc. p. 148. Zoji of Tarikh-i-Rashidi, p. 423. Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 23.

62. Pashkyum is a large village, 5 miles from Kargil in lat. 34°30' and long. 76°15'.

63. It is situated half way between Kharbu and Nurla in long. 76°50', lat. 34°20'. From here a route leads to Zanskar also. Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 555.

64. It is known as Khalsi or Kulsi also situated in long. 76°57', lat. 34°19'. See also Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 486.

it moves along with the river past the valleys of Nurla, Saspul, Buzgo, and Pitak.[65] Near Pitak it leaves the river and moves North-East till it reaches Leh. From Leh the outlets beyond take the form of about eleven routes crossing the Karakoram range of mountains.[66] But the route which was commonly followed by the merchants was the one leaving Leh behind. From here it was passing along with Lochela-KhardoNgla,[67] plans and crossed the Shayok below the confluences of Nūbrā river near Khelsar. It then passes along the valley of the Nūbrā river till it comes across Sasir Pass.[68] From Sasir it ascends the river Shayōk. From Sasir Barangsa[69] it is divided into two branches. One goes along the left bank of Shayok while the other after crossing Shayok passes through Murgo and Bursa.[70] It lays through Depsong plain and crosses

65. Pitak is about 5 miles south-west of Leh in long. 77°35', lat. 34°10'. Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 667. Drew, Territories of Jammoo & Kashmir, p. 132.

66. Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, ff. 166-67.

67. It is known as Leh Pass and Laoche La Pass also in long. 77°42', lat. 34°20'.

68. It is in the long. 77°40', and lat. 35°5' at the elevation of 17820, Gazetteer of Kashmir & Ladakh, p. 721. See also Cunningham, Ladakh - Physical,etc. pp. 224-25.

69. It was simply a camping ground, with a collection of stone wall enclosures to protect the travellers in long. 77°50', lat. 35°2' 35", elev. 15240'. Gazetteer of Kashmir & Ladakh, p. 235.

70. It is Burtsi II, of Bates Gazetteer, long. 78°5', lat. 35°10', elev. 16000, p. 246.

the Chapchāq[71] near Palloo. Next stage comes Karakoram. The other branch is crossed above the confluence of Chapchāq and Shayōk. It moves along with the Chapchāq up to Paloo. From Paloo the route leads to the Chinese town of Tāshigong.[72] It is here again divided into two branches, one leads to Central Tibet and other to Yarkand. Leh was linked with Sipti and Lahole also.[73] This route was used mainly by the merchants of India. The Tsprang Christian Mission had also used the same route. Unfortunately the maintenance of the route was not paid the attention by the authorities that it deserved.

The rivers were spanned by the swinging bridges and there were no carvan sarais on the Tibetan routes which was a great lacuna in the administrative efficiency in the Ṣubāh.

---

71. In Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 270, it is Chipchuk long. 79°12', lat. 33°45'.

72. Desideri, Travels, (tr. Fillipo De Filipi,) p. 81. It has been spelt by him as Tresciqkhang. According to Aḥmad Shāh Naqashbandi, the name of the first town on the Yārkand border is Kekair; it was here that a Chinese garrison was stationed and custom dues were realized from the merchants. JRAS, London, XII, 1850, pp. 380-81.

73. William Moorcroft and George Tribeck, Travels in the Himalayan Provinces, etc. II, pp. 218-54, gives a full description of Lahul Spti - Leh route which he followed during his visit in 1835.

Inns

Soon after the Mughal annexation a chain of inns spread over the main trade routes. During his first visit Akbar and his camp followers utilized their tents, but Jahangir in his visit of 1622 and his subsequent tours did not require tents for his encampment.[74] During the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb a number of new inns were built and the old inns were repaired and improved on.[75] The first inn was built by Mohammad Quli Khān at Khāmporā,[76] and Send Barari.[77] It was completed in 1597.[78] Under Jahangir inns were built on the way side of the Pakhli route as well as on the imperial road.[79]

But it is under Shahjahan that a chain of magnificent inns was put up along with the imperial road. The main inns were built at Changas, Rajouri, Thanā, Bahramgalla, Poshiānā, Hirapōrā, Shāji Marg, and Khāmpōra. The Sarai at

---

74. A.N., III, p. 725. Tuzuk, p. 292. Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, III, p. 597.
75. Kumbu, ʿAmal-i-Sālih, I, pp. 22-25. *Mohammad Kazim, Alamgir Nama, pp. 802-4.* Khafi Khān, Muntakhabu-Lubab, I, p. 301.
76. Faizi, Akbarnama, f. 242a.
77. In the text of A.N., III, p. 725, it is Nandi Brari perhaps a clerical mistake, while in Beveridge's translation, it is Nari Brari, p. 1083, while Bernier calls it Sand Brari, Travels in the Mughal Empire, p. 413.
78. A.N., III, p. 725. Faizi, Akbarnama, f. 242a.
79. Khafi Khan, Muntakhabu Lubab, I, p. 301.

Rājouri was built by Zafar Khān.[80] He was also incharge of Noushahra inn which was transferred to 'Ali Mardān Khān in 1641-42.[81] During 1646-47, another inn was built in between Noushahra and Bhimbar which was assigned to Islām Khān.[82] Jahān Ārā Begam also got an inn constructed at Hirāpora.[83] Shahjahān entrusted the administration of each inn to a noble of high repute.[84] This arrangement continued throughout our period During his visit, Aurangzeb assigned the administration of Changas Sarai to Mohammad 'Azam, Rajouri inn to Mohammad Mu'azam, and Thanā Sarai to Murtazā Khān.[85]

Though these inns were basically built for the imperial use but inns for the travellers were also built on these sites.[86] In the course of time townships developed around these places. Obviously the travellers were supplied with the food

---

80. Kumbu, 'Amal-i-Sālih, II, p. 18.
    Lahori, Badshah Nama, I, pp. 18-20, II, p. 469.

81. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 212.

82. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 469.

83. The inn was called Khair Sarāī.
    Lahori, Bādshāh Nama, II, p. 469.

84. Lahori, Badshah Nama, I, p. 16.
    Mohammad Kāzim, Alamgir Nama, p. 721.

85. Mohammad Kazim, Alamgir Nama, pp. 802-4.

86. Lahori, Badshah Nāmā, II, p. 20.

water and fodder besides shelter. References as to the charging of fee for stay in such wayside inns from those who sought shelter are lacking. This may be taken to suggest that such inns constituted a measure of public deal undertaken by the state to promote trade and travel and provide comforts to the imperial officials and troops to traverse distances through the rugged hilly terrains.

River Navigation

River navigation was the main source of transport in the valley[87] but ponies,[88] mules,[89] camels,[90] and donkeys[91] were used in the hilly tracks of the Ṣubāh. Yāk was also used in the Little & Greater Tibet,[92] but the bulk of trade articles were carried on the backs of porters.[93]

---

87. A'in, II, p. 170.
    Abul Fazl states that there were 30,000 boats in the valley which appears to be an exaggeration, A.N., III, p. 550. But the statement of Māṭamad Khan appears to be correct, Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, II, p. 564.
88. A'in, II, p. 170. Kamgar Husain, Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri, f. 132. Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, III, p. 566.
89. Inshai Harkaran, f. 115a. Research Library, Srinagar.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid.
92. Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp. 415-17. A.N., III, p. 648.
93. A'in, II, p. 170. Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, p. 392. Desideri, Travels, p. 79.

There were 7500 boats in Kashmir in 1589 when Akbar visited Kashmir.[94] The cargo boats were known as bahts and the light boats called shikārās were used for the general conveyance of the people.[95] During his visit, Akbar introduced some new type of boats of the Gujrat and Bengal models.[96]

---

94. See Supra 87.

95. Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, ff. 141a-b.
The author states that there were more than 15 types of boats used for various purposes. See also Lawrance, The Valley of Kashmir, pp. 380-2.

96. **A.N.**, III, p. 550.

*

Trade and Commerce

External Trade

Despite the natural barriers Kashmir kept excellent trade relations with Persia, Central Asia, Bhutan, Nepal, Bengal, and Patna.[1] In the course of time it extended as far as Golconda and Bijapur.[2] In the 18th century Kashmiri merchants had started trade of medicinal herbs and such other products with the East India Company.[3]

Though the trade relations with Central Asian countries had a long antiquity a very long time, but owing to the ever-increasing demand of the shawls and other articles of luxury by the Mughal nobility and aristocracy the trade with these countries developed tremendously.[4] The Carvan route leading to Central Asia from Lahore via Srinagar was well-frequented and remained always busy.[5]

The shawl remained the chief commodity of export and so the wool merchants had flourishing business. These

---

1. Desideri, Travels, pp. 132-3, 317.
2. Kalimat-u-Taibat, f. 75.
   Mohd. Sadiq Khan, Tarikh-i-'Alamgiri, ff.207a-b.
3. Factories, I, pp. 18, 32, VI, 315.
4. RAS, London, 1850, Vol. XII, pp. 87-88.
5. Jahangir and the Jasuits, ed. Danison Ross, pp. 123-5.

merchants had almost monopolized the wool trade in the wool-producing regions of Ladakh, Gilgit and Central Tibet.[6] They had deployed their agents throughout this region to advance the loans and collect the shawl wool from the producers.[7] They had established their warehouses in Chinese Turkistan, Central Tibet, Lahasa, Nepal and Bhutan.[8] The bulk of the shawl trade was carried on with Mughal India.[9] The Mughal nobility and aristocracy was the main customer of this stuff.[10] In addition to the shawls floor coverings like carpets, dharies, and printed and embroidered sheets were also sold to imperial Farash Khana.[11] Silk worm seeds were imported from Gilgit and Greater Tibet and they were reared on mulberry leaves.[13] The cloth was exported to India and Central Asia.[14]

---

6. Francke, Antiquities of Indian Tibet, pp. 115-16.
   See also article on Shawl Industry in Kashmir during the Mughal period of Abdul Majid Mattoo, Indian History Congress, 36th Session, 1975, Aligarh.

7. Desideri, Travels, p. 392.
   Francke, Antiquities of Indian Tibet, pp. 115-16.

8. Desideri, Travels, pp. 132-3, 137.

9. Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, p. 19.

10. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 433.
    Qazvini, Badshah Nama, II, f. 259, III, p. 326b.

11. Lahori, Badshah Nama, I, p. 448.
    Waris, Badshah Nama, II, f. 373.

13. A'in, II, p. 170. A.N., III, p. 648. Tuzuk, p. 300.
    Watson, Commercial Products of India, p. 1016.

14. Desideri, Travels, f.
    Gupta, N.S., Industrial Structure of India, p. 58.

Saffron

The costly condiment was produced in the valley of Kashmir at Pampore and Kashtawar. It was prescribed by the physicians as a medicinel hub[15] and was also used as a spice to flavour food with fine fragrance.[16] It was exported to India,[17] Yarkand, Tibet and China.[18] In the 17th and 18th centuries a small quantity was purchased by the English and the Dutch merchants too.[19] In the late 17th century Kashmiri saffron merchants had to face the competition from Nepali merchants transacting business at Patna.[20]

The prices varied from time to time. Abul Fazl states that the price of saffron varied from rupees 8 to 12 a seer.[21] Pelsaert refers to the Kashmir saffron as costing rupees twenty to twenty four and that of Kashtawār 28 to 32 of rupees per seer at Agra.[22]

15. Bayazi-Khusboi, f. 25.
16. A'in, I, p. 55.
Lawrance, The Valley of Kashmir, pp. 342-43.
17. A'in, I, p. 55. Tuzuk, p. 294. Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, III, p. 571. Lahori, Badshah Nama, I, p. 48.
18. Desideri, Travels, pp. 78, 317.
Vigue, Travels in India, II, p. 34.
Waddel, Lahasa & its Mystries, p. 478.
Forster, From Bengal to England, II, p. 22.
19. English Factories, I, (1618-1621), p. 169.
See also Karl Fischer, Indian History Congress, 1965, pp. 210-11.
20. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p.73.
21. A'in, I, p. 55.
22. Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, p. 35.

Fruits and Vegetables

Large quantities of vegetables and fruit were exported to India.[22a] The dry fruits made their way into the markets of Lahore,[23] Aḥmadābād, Agra and Amritsar.[24] During the 17th century the fruit merchants reached as far as South India with the fruits.[25] Almonds, walnuts, apples, peaches grapes, quince and quince-seed, melons and water-melons were the main fruits exported to the Indian market.[26] Grapes used to sell at 108 dams a maund.[27]

Forest Products

A large number of merchants were engaged in the trade of medicinal herbs.[28] These were exported to India and in the course of time English factors displayed interest in their purchase.[29]

22a. A'in, I, p. 34. Manucci, III, p. 396.

23. Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, pp. 34-35. Manucci, II, p. 174. Tuzuk, p. 173.

24. Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, p. 35.

25. Kalimatu-Taibat, ff.45a-b.

26. Lahori, Badshah Nama, I, p. 29. Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, pp. 34-35. Inshai Harkaran, f. 115.

27. A'in, I, p. 44.

28. Palsaert, Jahangir's India, p. 44. Lahori, Badshah Nama, I, p. 30. Inshai Harkaran, f. 115a.

29. Palsaert, Jahangir's India, p. 44. East India Company Records, (1602-3), p. 32.

Saussurea Lappa (Costus)

The root was obtained from the forests of the valley and exported to India. The root was famous for its medicinal properties. The factors at Surat and Ahmadabad were the main customers of this root.

Calamus

A large quantity of this herb was sold to the factors at Surat.[31] The Kashmir product was superior to that of Kabul.[32] It was sold at the rate of one mahmudi per seer.[33]

Amber Beads

There were two species of this herb. The merchants of Kashmir delivered the stuff to the factors at Surat at the rate of 40 mahmudis and the superior yellow quality at 50 mahmudis per seer.[34]

---

30. Inshai Harkaran, f. 115a.
George Watt, Commercial Products of India, p. 980.
See also Lawrance, The Valley of Kashmir, pp.77,83.

31. East India Company Records, (1602-3), p. 32.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. East India Company Records, 1617, Vol. 5, p. 109.

Warm Wood

It is an aromatic herb found in Kashmir at an altitude of 5 to 7000 feet.[35] After distilation process it yields a dark green oil of intoxicating properties.[36]

It was for the first time purchased by English Factors during 1618-21. It was found highly nutritive and especially conducive to the sailors.[37] In the course of time huge quantities were pruchased by them and each ship was provided with two hogsheads of this liquor.[38]

Besides these articles various kinds of scents and flowers were also exported to India and sold at exorbitant prices. Salix Caprea (Bed mushk),[39] scent of roses and flowers and musk deer[40] yielded handsome profits.[41]

Paper

Kashmir had provided a speciality in the production of fine paper.[42] It was in great demand in India.[43] Large

---

35. George Watt, Commercial Products of India, p. 93.
36. Factories, VI, p. 338.
37. Court Minutes, East India Company, November, 20, 1618. See also Factories, Vol. 6, p. 338.
38. Mr Mountney was appointed in A.D. 1618 as an agent to deliberate the transactions with the merchants. Factories, Vol. 6, p. 338.
39. A'in, I, p. 56.
Akhbarat, 29 Ramzan, 45th R.Y.
40. Desideri, Travels, p. 78.
41. Lawrance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 78.
42. Badauni, Muntakhabut Tawarikh, III, p. 202.
Forster, From Bengal to England, II, p. 22.
43. Ruq'at-i-Alamgiri, f. 160b. Akhbarat, 40, 44. R. Years. Forster, From Bengal to England, II, p.22. Vigue, Travels, etc. II, p. 121.

quantity of paper was exported to Persia from Ahmadabad, which was presumably brought from Kashmir.[44]

Rajouri rice, and fowls from Kashmir was exported to India mainly for the royal kitchen.[45] Inkstands, trays, walnut wood boxes, spoons, silver and paper Machie articles of various types were also in great demand in India.[46]

Feathers of okar and the coloured plumes of various birds were exported in large quantities. The nobility was the main consumer of these. They decorated their banners and headgeer with these beautiful plumes.[47]

Horses of various breeds both local[48] and those brought from Ladakh were exported to India.[49]

Imports

The main articles of import were salt,[50] shawl wool, cooton cloth,[51] cloves, mace, paper, silk worm seeds, turmeric, ginger,[52] and sugar.[53]

44. Factories, I, 1618, p. 18.
45. A'in, I, pp. 34, 40, 41.
46. Raqa'im-u-Karāim, f. 22. Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, p. 402. Manucci, II, p. 402.
47. A'in, II, p. 174. Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, III,p.571, M.U., I, pp. 180-1.
48. A.N.,III, p. 824. Tuzuk, p. 301.
49. Hamida Khātūn Naqvi, Urban Centres in Northern India, p. 46.
50. A'in, II, p. 174; Tuzuk, p. 300.
51. Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, pp. 35-36. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 415.
52. Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, pp. 35-36.
53. Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 395.

Like wool, salt trade was also a flourishing one. Since salt was not available in the Ṣubāh, so it was imported from India.[54] On account of its high consumption, it was in great demand in the valley. The labourers also received their wages in terms of salt.[55] It was brought from Bengal also.[56] Thanā had turned to be a salt mandi and the Kashmiri merchants purchased it mainly from there.[57]

Internal Trade

The continued peace and tranquility in the Ṣubāh under the Mughal rule and the state administration served to boost the internal trade to an appreciable extend during the Mughal period.

In the 16th century, there was no systematic market system.[58] The business though flourishing, was carried on inside the houses.[59] But in late 18th century, the systematic marketting system got fully developed and separate markets were established as those of bazar sarafan, bazar Baqalia

---

54. A'in, II, p. 174. Tuzuk, p. 300. Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, III, p. 571.
55. A'in, II, p. 174.
56. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, p.245.
57. Mohammad Murad, Tuhfatul-Fuqara, f. 43b. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 159.
58. Tarikh-i-Rashidi, p. 425.
59. A'in, II, p. 175.

Bazāzā, Sabāga (Chintz market) etc. etc.[60] developed. Forster who visited Kashmir in 1783 saw the trade and commerce thriving like anything. He fully bears out the account of Father Desideri who was in Kashmir in 1714.[61]

Arts, Crafts, and Industries

Rural population was mainly busy in the agricultural pursuits and in petty handicrafts like cloth weaving, smithy, carpentry, oil pressing and animal husbandry. These crafts were also agro-based. The artisans even up to recent times received a share out of the village produce in lieu of their services.[62] As such a village to a greater extent remained self sufficient during our period. It supplied its basic requirements within the village.[63] Though the surplus produce found its way to the city, it was appropriated in the shape of land revenue and other cesses.[64] In return the villages received hardly anything from the cities and towns. This flow of village surplus in the course of time changed the economic life of the cities. It is an established fact that the Mughal aristocracy were chiefly urbanized people,

---

60. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 8.
61. George Forster, From Bengal to England, II,pp.22-5.
62. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India,p.60.
63. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 119.
64. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 119.

and as such they lived in towns and cities. They laid out gardens around these centres and built lofty buildings.[65] All these factors led to the expansion of Srinagar in particular and other townships in general.

These urban centres turned to be the natural shelters for various types of artisans. It is, therefore, no wonder that the famous industrial centres of shawl manufacture flourished in the city of Srinagar.[66] Where over 2400 looms were busy in the production of this costly stuff[67] which filled the coffers of the Ṣūbah with money.[68]

The skillful artisans specialised in various techniques, designs, and artistic embellishments. The mode of production, the system of monopolization of resources and markets and concentration of surplus profits in the hands of mercantile community points to the emergence and growth of the capitalistic system under which the artisans manufactured the equisite shawls neither for the artistic display nor for the profit sharing. But the dexterous artisans were reduced to a state of semi-bondage, perpetuated by social compulsions and lived in wretched plight with their meagre wages.[69]

---

65. See Chapter VII.
66. Haft-Iqlim, f. 214b.
George Forster, From Bengal to England, II, p.22.
67. Haft-Iqlim, f. 214b.
George Forster, From Bengal to England, II, p.22.
Chechereve, India - Economic Development, 16th-18th centuries, p. 159.
68. Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, p. 403.
69. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 273.

Carpet Industry

This industry flourished simultaneously with the Shawl Industry. Kashmiri carpets were considered superior to those from Persia.[70] The cost of a yard of superior quality exceeded over a hundred rupees.[71] There were state-owned kārkhānās apart from the private kārkhānās.[72] Besides gālichas, dhurries, gabās, and other floor coverings were also manufactured here.[73]

Minor Arts and Crafts

A good deal of iron, silver, brass vessels[74] paper mache,[75] paper, wood carvings, and furniture of delicate nature[76] and boats of various styles were also manufactured in the Subah.[77] Paper was made from rags, hump fibre and silk.[78]

---

70. Lahori, Badshah Nama, I, p. 448.
71. Lahori, Badshah Nama, I, p. 448.
72. Waris, Badshah Nama, II, f. 373.
73. Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 562a.
74. Vigue, Travels in Kashmir, II, pp. 5, 337.
75. Akhbārāt, Ziq'ad, 40th R.Y.
76. Raqāīm-Karāīm, f. 22.
77. Gazetteer of Kashmir & Ladakh, pp. 82, 83.
78. Forster, From Bengal to England, II, p. 22. 9.T.
    Vigne, Travels, II, p. 121.
    N.S. Gupta, Industrial Structure of India, p. 114.

Minerals

Though mineral exploitation in the Ṣubāh of Kashmir was sadly neglected yet some effort was made to extract the earth's hidden natural treasures. Copper, iron, saphire, and salt peter, mines were worked out in a minor scale. The iron was obtained from Shahabad, and Khrive mines mainly.[79] Iron ore was exported to Lahore also.[80]

Copper was obtained from 'Aishmuqām. Copper mines.[81]

Gold was mainly acquired from the sand of the Indus in Greater Tibet and Pakhli.[82] More than 2000 tolas of gold was collected in Tibet alone. Yet quality was inferior and it did not fetch more than seven rupees for a tola.[83]

---

79. A'in, II, p. 175.
    Laurance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 63.
80. N.S. Gupta, Industrial Structure of India, p. 107.
81. Vigue, Travels, I, p. 325, II, p. 5.
82. A'in, II, p. 175.
    Sajan Rai Bhandari, Khulas-tu-Tawarikh, p. 82.
83. Kumbu, Amal-i-Salih, II, p. 264.

*

Chapter IX

Learning And Literature

Since the very ancient times Kashmir had attained fame as an important land for the promotion of learning and literature. It had produced historians like Kalhan, Srivara, Ksemendar, Ratnakār, and Jonary, philosophers like Abhinavagupta, Utpāla and Somanand, dramatists like Abhinavagupta, and Udbhatta.[1] But the Brahmans had exercised the monopoly to impart education. The advent of Islam lifted the viel and gates of knowledge were thrown open to the common people. It is true that neither the Sultans nor the Mughals created a separate department of education at the centre or in the provinces. But the liberal patronage of the Kings and nobles and the tremendous efforts of the Sufis, saints, scholars and theologians afforded impetus in boosting the remarkable development of education by opening and expanding madarasas.[2]

The mosques and khānqāhs virtually became the seats of learning.[3] Though the primary aim was the training of

---

1. Suresh Chandra Banerji, Cultural Heritage of Kashmir, pp. 3-35.
   P.N.K. Bamzai, A History of Kashmir, p. 549.
2. Tawakul Beg Kulabi, Nuskha-i-Ahwal-i-Shahi, ff. 24a, 37a
   Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 120, 121, 135, 143.
3. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 143, 146, 177, 192, and 207.
   Binod Kumar Sahay, Education and learning under the Great Mughals, pp. 6-7, 32-33.

the pupils in religious literature, Qurānic phonetics, theology and logic. The gates were widened for the education of all and sundary without distinction of caste or social status. Consequently a considerable number of people were able to read and write, which in the long run led to the development of literature.[4] The Mughal rule ushered in a period of great literary and educational activity. It would be apt to make brief notices of some of the luminaries of the period.

These famous teachers were Sheikh Ismail Chishti, Khwājā Hasan Qārī, Khwājā Ishāq Qārī, Khwāja Ḥaidar Natinoo, Mulla Abdul Razāq Bāndhi, Bābā Ṣāliḥ, Khwājā Qāsim Tirmizī, Mullah Muhammad Afzāl, Abdul Rahīm Fafoo, Mulla Tāhir Gani, and Muhammad Zamān Nafiʿá.

Sheikh Ismail Chishti

Sheikh Ismail was a pupil of Maulana Jamāl. After his death, he attended the khānqah of Sheikh Nūrullāh, a saint of Chishti order.[5] He had a privilege of being disciple of Mīr ʿAbdullāh Bukhāri. After his return to Kashmir, he opened a school and imparted education for a period of twelve years. He died a few years after Mughal conquest of Kashmir.[6]

---

4. Ṣābir Afāqi, Hunar-wa-Murdum, No. 113, Isfandiyar 1350, p. 68.
   P.N. Chopra, Life and Letters under the Mughals, pp. 140-1.
5. Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 120.
6. Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 120.

Khāwāja Ḥasan Qārī and Isḥāq Qāri

These two scholars were brothers;on account of their command over the Qurānic phonetics they were called Qāri. They were the disciples of Sheikh Ḥamza Makhdoomi and Sheikh Yāqoob Ṣarfī. Sheikh Ḥasan took to the teaching profession for a long time. Isḥāque Qāri too served after his brother's death in the same Madrasa.[7]

Mullā Ḥusain (alias Haji Ganai)

He lived in the vicinity of Jamaʿ Masjid, Srinagar. He was a teacher in the khānqāh of Malik Jallāl-ud-Din Thākoor. This school continued to function till the establishment of the Sikh rule.[8]

Mulla Abdul Razāḳ Bāndey

Abdul Razāḳ was nephew of Mulla Fāzil. He remained in Kabul for a long time as a teacher. He adopted the same profession in Kashmir after his departure from Kabul.[9]

Baba Ṣāleḥ

He was a disciple of Bābā Naṣib. Bābā lived in a cave at village Gogna for a long period where he kept on giving lessons to his pupils.[10]

---

7. Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 121.
   Sheikh Ḥasan was burried in village, Shiva, in the Zainagir parganah. See also Chapter VI, Section II.
8. Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 143, 282.
9. Khwāriqus-Sālikin, f. 132a.
   Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 144.
10. Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 146.

Mullā Abdul Rahīm

He had extensively toured in Bukhāra, Samarqand, Bhagdād and India. During the rest of his life he remained in the Naqashbandi khānqāh as a teacher for a long period till his death in 1694-95.[11]

Mohammad Zamān Nafiā

He was the brother of Mullā Tāhir Gani, and a pupil of Mulla Mohsin Fāni. He died in 1709-10.[12]

---

11. Gouhar-i-'Ālam, p. 235.
    Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 192
12. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 207.

The Kashmiri language was spoken by a considerable majority of people spreadover from Thānā to the outskirts of Pakhli.[1] The origin of the language can be traced to as early a period as twelfth century. Pandith Kalhan has also used a number of Kashmiri words in Raja Tarangni.[2] Kashmiri or Koshur belongs to the Dardic group of languages.[3] In spite of such a remote antiquity it remained a spoken dialect only. The best works on philosophy, history, science, art, and literature were produced in Sanskrit and later in Persian.[4] It is quite interesting to note that the lyrics of Lalā Ishwari, and Sheikh Nuruddin Rishi, were written in Sharda or in Persian script, no script of Koshur was evolved in the valley.

There were presumably two important factors which hampered the growth of Kashmiri as a written language. Before the advent of Islam, Sanskrit was the official language and the religious scriptures were also available in the same language. Therefore, it was advantageous to be learnt both for

---

1. A.N., III, p. 540; A'in, II, (Jarret), p. 351 & n. Tuzuk, p. 317.
2. R.K. Parmu, A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, p.453.
3. G.T. Vigne, Travels in India, etc. II, p. 368. Lawrance, Valley of Kashmir, pp. 454-8. Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India, Vol.8, Part 2, pp. 233-34.
4. A'in, II, (Jarret), p. 351.

religious merit and economic consideration; therefore, the elite did not pay any attention towards the development for a natural script of Koshur. Subsequently, the advent of Islam in the Ṣubāh threw open the gates for Ṣufis, saints, scholars and adventurists. They substituted the Brahmans and eventually Persian became the official language. It continued to flourish and thrive throughout the medieval period. The Persian spkeaking people had as a natural consequence, no taste for the local dialect. Therefore, the constant royal patronage to Persian, did not allow Koshur to grow beyond a spoken dialect. However, it still remains a fact that even under such circumstances, it did not die out. But the influence of Persian appears to have increased, and a large number of Persian words side by side the Sanskrit were retained.[5] But in the hilly pockets of Kashtawār and Bānihāl, it remained unaffected,[6] with a profound influence of Sanskrit.[7] In the north western regions of Dachukhawūra, and Karnāve the impact of Shīnā continued to be dominant.[8]

Some of the lyrical works of Haba Khātūn, Habibullah Noushahri, Roopa Bhawāni, Sāḥib Koul and Mirza

---

5. G.T. Vigne, Travels in India, etc. II, p. 368. Lawrance, The Valley of Kashmir, pp. 454-458.

6. Mohiud-Din Hājinī, (Introduction) Kashir Sha'eri See also A'in, II, p. 351 & n.(Jarrets note).

7. Tuzuk, p. 317.

8. Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India, Vol.8, Part 2, p. 233.

Akmal-ud-Din Badakhshi have survived to this date in Persian script. These were composed during the Mughal period but the manuscripts at our disposal are of latter date. A short account of some of these literary figures would be relevant here to mention.

Habba Khātoon (1551-1606)

It is strange that contemporary sources are silen about the marriage of Habba Khātoon with Yousf Shah Chak.[9] However, it is beyond doubt that the lyrics attributed to her are of an innovation in the Kashmiri literature. She was the pioneer of "Lol" Love Songs. Her poetry is full of anguish and sadness,[10] of an afflicted heart.

Habibullah Noushahri (1555-1617)

He was a profound scholar of Persian.[11] He has composed poems both in Persian and Kashmiri. He was a contemporary of Habba Khātoon. Probably both composed poetical

---

9. Mohiud Din Hajini, Kashir Shairi, p. 15.
G.M.D. Sufi, Kashur, II, pp. 389-90.

There is a strong tradition about the existence of Habba Khātoon. Besides her love songs, we have a bridge Habba Kadal by name. It is said it was built by her. It is not possible to brush aside such a strong tradition.

10. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 259.
P.N.K. Bamzai, A History of Kashmir, p. 567.

11. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 128.

works about the same time.[12] As a matter of fact both of them were trend setters in Kashmiri poetry. Habibullah was representing both the Divine and the profane love in his sufistic poetry and the "Lol" songs.[13]

Roop Bhawāni alias Alak Ishwari (1625-1721)

The poetess was born in a rich Brahman family. At an early age she was married to a Pandith, but the marriage proved an utter failure. She was driven to mystic faith.[14] Her lyrics have a mystic touch[15] expressed in Kashmiri with heavy weightage given to Sanskrit words which used extensively.[16]

Sāhib Koul d. 1642

A contemporary of Roop Bhawani reflects mystic lore in his lyrics and simultaneously exhibits deep influence of Shiva philosophy. He had also used Sanskrit words frequently.[17]

---

12. P.N.K. Bamzai, A History of Kashmir, p. 583.
    Prof.Mohiud Din Hajini, Kashir Shairi, p. 12.

13. P.N.K. Bamzai, A History of Kashmir, p. 567.
14. See Chapter V, Section II.

15. P.N.K. Bamzai, A History of Kashmir, pp. 567-68.
    Prof. Mohiud Din Hajini, Kashir Shairi, p. 19.

16. A collection of her poems is available in the Research Library, Srinagar, in a manuscript form. See also Mohiud Din Hajini, Kashir Shairi, p. 19.

17. Mohiud Din Hajini, Kashir Shairi, p. 16.
    A collection is extended in Research Library, Srinagar.

Mirza Akmalud-Din (d. 1717)

He was a descendant of Abū Nuamān Abū Hanīfa. His ancestors had settled in Badakhshān, hence the epithets Badakhshi was attached to the names of their successors.[18] His parents came to India during the reign of Akbar. In his early age he had come into contact with Habibullah.[19] He had been able to enjoy the company of Mulla Mohsin Fāni. Kāmil was an expounder of the idiology of Wahdatul-Wujūd.[20]

He has used both Persian and Sanskrit words frequently in his Kashmiri songs.[21] He died in 1717.[22]

---

18. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 224.
19. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 224.
    Bamzai has given the date of his birth 1642 which is not supported by facts, A History of Kashmir, p. 567.
    See also Abdul Hamid Irfani, Irani Saqir, p. 165.
20. Sabir Afaqi, Hunar-wa-Murdum, Nos. 112-13, Isfandyar 1350, p. 82.
21. Mohiud Din Hajini, Kashir Shairi, p. 18.
22. Waqīāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 224, 258.
    Mohiud Din Hajini mentions that Akmal used the "Nunda Akmal" as his poetic name. He states that Akmal died in 1720, Kashir-Shairi, p. 18.

*

Persian Literature

It has been stated above that the Persian was adopted as an official language during the reign of Zainul-Ābidīn.[1] But Sanskrit continued to be language of elite. The official histories of the Sultāns continued to be written in Sanskrit. Besides bilingual inscriptions on the epitaphs of the graves and a few bilingual documents also support this assumption[2] of bilingual use.

It was only during the Mughal rule that Sanskrit language completely disappeared from the scene. By the end of the 17th century the Hindus, who had been guardians of learning and literature took to Persian language.[3]

The Mughals were great patrons of Persian. They awarded land and cash grants to the scholars, and poets. The Sanskrit works were translated into Persian. The famous Sanskrit history, Rajatarangni of Kalhan was translated into by Mulla Abdul Qādir Bādūni.[4] Besides the royal patronage the presence of Persian speaking officials, saints and sufis

---

1. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 255.
2. The works of Jonaraj, Shrivara, and Suka are in Sanskrit. The bilingual Wasiyat Nama of Sheikh Hamza is also in Sanskrit and Persian.
3. P.N.K. Bamzai, A History of Kashmir, p. 551.
4. A'in, (Blochmann translation), p. 104.
   Bada'uni, Muntakhibut Tawarikh, II, p. 374.
   Tuzuk, p. 297.

gave a fillip to the spread of Persian literature. Poets and scholars like Ṯālib Isfahni,[5] Khwāja Moinud-Din Naqashbandi,[6] Haji Mohammad Jan Qudsī,[7] Mulla Tugrā, Mohammad Quli Salim, Mir Ilāhi, Inayat Khan, son of Zafar Khān, and many others settled in Kashmir permanently.[8] They had a large number of associates. As such Kashmir turned to be a miniature Persian.[9] Numerous works on literature, philosophy, religion, medicine, and music were produced by the Kashmiri natives. Bernier has rightly observed that the Kashmiris were not inferior to the Persian in medicine and poetry.[10]

Some of the distinguished scholars of our time were Sheikh Yaqoob Sarfi, Khwāja Habibullah Hubi, Malik Ḥaidar, Akhwand Mulla Kamāl, Mulla Mazhari, Mulla Awji, Mulla Yousf Chachak, Mulla Zehni, Mulla Nadīmī, Mulla Mohsin Fānī, Mulla Ṯāhir Gani, Bābā Da'ūd Mishkwāti, Bābā Nasībud-Din, Mirza Dārāb

---

5. Tuzuk, p. 286.
Ma'asir-i-Rahimi, p. 1260.
Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 190a.
Binod Kumar Sahay, Education & Learning under the Great Mughals, pp. 2-3.
Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, ff. 50, 80.
6. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 167-68.

7. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 150.

8. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 150, 151, 152, 154, 172.

9. Qazvini, Shahjahan Nama, III, pp.330a.
Bernier, Travels in Mughal India, p. 402.
G.M.D. Sufi, Kashir, II, pp. 446-8.
Abdul Hamid Irfani, Irān-i-Saqīr, p. 59.

10. Bernier, Travels in Mughal India, p. 402.
See also Qazvini, Shahjahan Nama, III, f. 330a.
Lahori, Badshah Nama, I (II), p. 55.

Joyā, Akmal-u-din Badakhshi, and Narain Koul Ājiz. A brief notice of some of the native scholars and facts of Persian may be given here.

Sheikh Yaqoob Ṣarfī

The genius, scholarship, and keen intellect of Sheikh Yāqoob Ṣarfī was well recognized even during his life-time.[11] He had been a pupil of Sheikh Salīm Chishti and Sheikh Husain of Khwār-Izmi.[12] He himself was a teacher of Sheikh Aḥamad Sarhindi.[13] He was the author of an introduction to Faizi's Tafsīr entitled Sawāt-i-ul-Ilhām,[14] the commentary to Ṣaḥiḥ Bukhārī and composed the Maslakul-Akhyar, Wamiq Azra, Layla Majnun, Magāzi-un-Nubwāh, Manāsikul-Haj, Manāqibul auliyā and a collection of Quatrains, Qasaid and a diwān of Ghazals.[15]

---

11. A'in-i-Akbari, (Blochmann translation), pp.651-52.
Badauni, Muntakhibut-Tawarikh, II, pp. 259, 393, 403.
Tabaqat-i-Akbari,p.391.
Lahori, Badshah Nama, I (II), p. 55.

12. Tabqat-i-Shahjahani, ff. 253-54.
Waqiat-i-Kashmir, pp. 110-11.
See also Insha Collection 891.5528, Sulaiman Collection, f. 160a; Maulana Azad Library,Aligarh.

13. Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 110-11.

14. Badauni, Muntakhibut-Tawarikh,II, p. 393.

15. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, pp. 110-11.
See also Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, pp. 256-7.
G.M.D. Sufi, Kashir, II, p. 363.
Abdul Hamid Irfani, Irani Sagir, pp. 154-60.
Sābir Āfāqi, Hunar-wa-Murdum, Nos.112-13, Isfandyar, 1350, pp. 74-76.

Haji Muhammad Kashmiri d. 1597-98

Ancestors of Haji Muhammad had come along with Sayyid Ali Hamadani and settled in Kashmir.[16] Haji was born in Kashmir and was tutored by Sheikh Muhammad Bāqī Naqashbandi of Delhi.[17] He was a profilic writer and teacher. The following well-known works are ascribed to him: Sharhi Shumil-un-Nabi, Fazāilul-Qurān, Sharhul Mujarad, Khulasah - Kitābul Awza'a Fī-Bayān-i-Mazhabul Arbá.[18]

Habibullah Noushahri

He was a prolific scholar of Persian as well as of Kashmiri. Hubi was a pupil of Sarfi. Tanbīhul Quloob, and Rāht-ul-Quloob were his most valuable works on Sufism. He had a Diwan also.[19]

Baba Nasibud Din Gāzi

Bābā was a pupil of Sheikh Hamzā Makhdoomi and Bābā Dāud Khākī. He has translated an earlier biography of Sheikh Nūrud-Din in Persian verse known as Noor Nama. He died on 28th May 1638.[20]

16. Sabir Afaqi, Hunar-wa-Murdum, Nos. 112-13, Isfandiyar, 1350, pp. 76-77.
17. Tabaqāti Akbari, p. 391; Tabaqāti Shahjahāni, f.225b.
18. Sābir Āfāqi, Hunar-wa-Murdum, p. 76.
19. For his life history, see Kashmiri poetry in this chapter. See also Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 132. Abdul Hamid Isfani, Irani Sagir, p. 167.
20. See Chapter V, Section II. Abdul Hamid Irfani, Irāni-Sagīr, pp. 109, 146-49.

Malik Haidar

He was an associate of Yousf Shah Chak and accompanied him during his exile to Hindustan. He was an architect and a stateman at the same time. But he is famous as the author of Tārikh-i-Kashmir compiled during the reign of Jahangir.[21]

Mulla Mazhari Kashmiri

Maẕhari was a native of Kashmir, but he remained in Iraq for a very long time.[22] He was able to enjoy the company of Muḥtashim Kāshi, and Waḥshi.[23] After his return to the motherland, he was appointed as Mir Bahri by Akbar in 1595. He had composed a diwān comprising 6000 verses. Mulla Maẕharī died in 1609.[24] He is the translation of a few of his verses:

> "What lovely look lay in Layla's eyes
> That shut Majnūn shut his eyes to friends and strangers.

---

21. See Note on Sources. (Introduction)
22. Amin Ahmad Rāzi, Haft Iqlim, II, p. 114.
    Tabaqāt-i-Shahjahani, f. 280b.
    Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 136.
23. A'in, (Blochmann translation), p. 654.
    Budāuni, Muntakhibu-Tawārikh, II, p.
    Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 136.
24. Amin Aḥmad Rāzi, Haft Iqlim, II, p. 114.
    Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 136.
    G.M.D. Sufi, Kashir, II, pp. 459-60.

> Like a tail I follow my own selfish heart.
> Though the road is not bad, I make myself footsore
> Though I break through a hundred scenes,
> I can-not step out of myself, I wander over a
> hundred stages and am still at old place."

Mulla Nadīmī

His name was Mohammad Ṣāleh and Nadīm was his pen-name. Nadīm was a pupil of Mullā Zehni. He has composed thousands of verses in lucid Persian style.[25]

Mulla Mohsin Fānī

Fānī a philosopher-poet was the son of Sheikh Hasan Ganāi. He was a pupil of Sarfi.[26] After his teacher's death he left for Balkh and joined the service of Nazr Mohammad Khān. But he soon returned to India.[27] Shahjahān appointed him Ṣad'r of Ilahabad. On account of his liberal thinking, he was elevated to the company of Dara Shukoh.[28]

He has composed a Diwan, an autograph copy of which is available in the Punjab University (Pakistan).[29] His poetry has a mystic trend.

---

25. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, pp. 154-57.
G.M.D. Sufi, Kashir, II, pp. 447, 471.

26. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 170.
G.M.D. Sufi, Kashir, II, pp. 365-66.

27. Sābir Āfāqi, Hunar-wa-Murdum, Abdul Hamid Irfani, Irani Sagir, pp. 79-80.

28. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 170.

29. Kambu, Amal-i-Sālih, III, pp. 426-27.
Abdul Hamid Irfani, Irāni Sagīr, pp. 159-60.

Mulla Ṯāhir Gani

The Mulla belonged to a reputed 'Ashaʿi family of Kashmir.[30] At the age of twenty he commenced composing verses in a lucid Persian style.[31] His fame spread as far as Persia. Mirza Ṣāʿib was so much influenced by his style that he came to Kashmir to meet him.[32] Mulla Ṯāhir never attended the Court of any prince nor did he write any Qasida in praise of any dignitory.[33] This verse of Gani (in translation) testifies to his bent of mind.

> "The world's wealth, Gani cannot blot one's fault.
> For all gold's scratchings, still the touch stone is black."

Baba Dāūd Mishkwāti

He was a disciple of Bābā Nasību-ud-Dīn Gāzi and learnt logic and tradition from Sheikh Ḥaidar Charkhi.[34] He

---

30. Waqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 171.

31. Waqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 171.

32. G.M.D. Sufi, Kashir, II, p. 452.
Abdul Hamid Irfani, Irani Saqir, pp. 60-61.

33. G.M.D. Sufi, Kashir, II, pp. 452-55.
P.N.K. Bamzai, A History of Kashmir, p. 561.

غنی از دولت دنیا نگردد عیب کس زایل
بزر نتواند از روی محک بردن سیاهی را

(no original reference?)

34. Waqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 176.
Sabir Afaqi, Hunar-wa-Murdum, Vols. 112-13, p. 80.

had a *profound* knowledge of ʿArabic and Persian. A Tazkira Asrārul-Abrār and a biography the Sufis of Kashmir are some of his famous works. He has rendered Mantiqut-Tair of Sanai into his own Persian verse.[35]

Nārain Koul ʾĀjiz

By the end of the 17th century Persian language had completely replaced the Sanskrit. The Brahmans, an intellectual class also took to Persian to enter the government services. Nārāin Koul Ājiz was the first Kashmiri Pandith who excelled in the Persian literature. He is the author of the Mukhtasar Tawarikh-i-Kashmir.[36]

Chief characteristics of the Persian works both in prose and verse, composed by the Kashmiri scholars, and poets may include the mystic trend, lucid style, verses of high order portrayal of the natural beauty of the valley. One important trait of the Persian poetical works in Persian as composed by the native poets consists of the composition or versification of the famous works of classical Persian poets, under the same respective titles by the Kashmiri poets of Persian for instance Sheikh Yāqoob Ṣarfī wrote Khamsa on Maulana Jāmis pattern,[37] Bābā Dāʿud Mishkwāti the Mantiqut-Tair on the model of Sinais famous work under the title of Asrārul-Ashjār.[38]

35. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 176.
36. See note on the sources.
37. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 111.
38. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 176.

Art, Architecture and Gardens

The Mughals were great builders indeed. They raised magnificient palaces, forts, mosques, tombs and laid out gardens throughout the length and breadth of the Empire. Their monuments and gardens still retain their magnificence and grandure. The valley of Kashmir was also studded with beautiful monuments and gardens by the Mughal Emperors and their nobles. But it is astonishing that most of the monuments have perished in the course of time, except a few gardens, and sarais, the Pather Masjid, the Main Gate of the Nāgar Nagar fort, k̲h̲ānqāh of Shah Hamdān, and some other shrines. It appears, the cause of this whole-sale destruction was the negligence during the oppressive rule of the Sikhs. The conflagrations earthquakes, and climatic conditions were not less responsible for this decay.

The wood constituted the primary building material of the mosques and shrines, but the royal palaces and mosques built by them were exclusively of lime and stone over a core of brick work.[1] The art of stone building was revived by the Mughals which was almost forgotten by the Kashmiris.[2] But its influence remained confined to the imperial architectural activity. The indigenous wooden architecture of Kashmir flourished uninterrupted,

---

1. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 23.
2. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture (Muslim Period), pp. 83-86.

imbibing no influence from the Mughal style.[3] This wooden architecture of Kashmir has its own peculiarities in spite of its resemblence to that of scandinavian countries, and Tyrol of Austrailia. It has been least influenced by the Budhist Pagodas. Prof. Mohibbul Hasan has rightly observed that there was not a single Budhist Pagoda at the advent of Islām in Kashmir.[4] The Pagoda architecture is quite different.

It is also quite significant to note that notwithstanding the highly skilled craftsmanship, Kashmiries were ignorant of joinary work. That is why they used to put the logs on each other and the gaps were filled with brick, stone, and lime.

The architecture of our period can be divided into two sections. The stone architecture, and the wooden architecture Nāgar Nagar fort, Pather Masjid, Mullah Akhwand Shāh Mosque, and a Sarāis are the living examples of the stone architecture, while Khānqāh Mu'allā, Jamia Masjid, Srinagar, mosque at Shopiyān, Hazrat Bal mosque, and a number of tombs where the remains of holy saints are enshrined, represent the wooden architecture.

Nāgar Nagar Fort

Kohi Mārān had a considerable importance for the defence of the city of Srinagar. It is on account of this

---

3. James Fergusson, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, II, pp. 333-34.

4. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir under the Sultans, p. 269.

importance that the Mughals laid out a well-fortified and magnificent city. During his first visit, Akbar directed Yousf Khān Rizvī to construct houses for the soldiers they were forbidden to occupy private houses.[1] By 1597, a large number of houses had been built and barracks too were built for the soldiers.[2] In 1597, Akbar directed Mohammad Qulī Khān Ṣubahdār to dismantle the mud-wall and construct a strong fort of stone there. The foundation of the fort of Nāgar Nagar was laid in 1597 and the construction was completed sometimes after 1606 at the cost of 11000000 rupees.[3] The construction work of the fort was divided into segments, each portion was entrusted to a noble so that the completion might be affected within the shortest period.[4] Then attention was drawn to constant improvements and

---

1. A.N., III, p. 543. See plate No I
2. A.N., III, p. 726.
3. A.N. III, pp. 726-27, 733
   Tuzuk, p. 302.
   Iqbāl-Nama Jahāngiri, II, p. 454.
   Fredric Augusts, Akbar, II, pp. 215-16.
   Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 118, and Anand Koul, Archaeological Remains in Kashmir, p. 88, have wrongly given the date of completion 1006/1597. R.K. Parmu has also raised an unwarranted controversy over the date of foundation and the rational behind the construction of this fort. When it is clear both in Akbar Nama, III, pp. 726-27, and on the inscriptior of the Sangin Darwāza, A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, pp. 299-301. The fort which crowns the hillock of Kohi Mārān was built by Atta Mohammad Khān, an Afghan Governor of Kashmir, Birbal Kachroo, Majmut-Tawārikh, f. 246a. Percy Brown is not correct in his statement that the new fort is a replacement of the original citadel of Akbar, Indian Architecture, (Muslim Period), p. 88. Outer wall of the Mughal fort encircled whole of the hillock.
4. A.N.,III,p.726-27. According to the local sources the construction was supervised by Looli Najār a highly skilled carpenter of Kashmir, Gouhar-i-Ālam,p.252. But the Mughal sources are silent and as per inscription it was Mir Muhammad Husain who was supervising the work.

new palaces were added to inside the fort for long.[5] Jahangir in his first visit after accession renovated the palace and an art gallery also was built in it.[6] He spent 10,000 rupees for an aquiduct, but the idea was later dropped,[7] and the construction was left incomplete. It is astonishing to note that there is not a single building existing in tact nor the ruins of the palaces are traceable. But the main gate known as Sangīn Darwāza, and the dilapidated Kat͟hi Darwāza are extant. Sangīn Darwāza is a structure highly expensive, ornate and stoutly built. Its elevation consists of well built-arched recess. There are gateways on each side. Kat͟hi Darwāza is now in ruins.[8]

Pather Masjid

Pather Masjid or Nove Masjid was built in 1623 under the supervision of Nurjahan Begum.[9] It is situated on

---

5. *Tuzuk*, p. 302.
6. *Tuzuk*, p. 302.
7. Pelsaert, *Jauhangir's India*, p. 34.
8. Percy Brown suggests that Kat͟hi Darwāza was main gate of the fort, *Indian Architecture*, (Muslim Period) p. 88. See plate No I.
9. Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 129b. See plate No II.

the left bank of the river Jehlam directly opposite to the Khānqāh-i-Mu'allā. It was built in pure granite polished stone, with a length of 180 feet and breadth 54 feet. The style is quite simple and lacking in any kind of ornamentation. The interior is divided into three passages by two rows of massive stone arches. The roof of each compartment is artistically ribbed and vaulted. The facade consists of 8 massive arches with a large elegant central arch. In simplicity and layout it resembles the Moti Masjid of Agra. But the central dome appears to have been destroyed in the course of time. The external wall of the compound is purely of masonary work in lime and bricks baked by fire. The eastern gate on the river side has been rebuilt recently, but the old wodden door panels along with the frame have been preserved in it. The carved floral designs on the door panels depict the real artistic skill of the Kashmiri artisans.[9a]

The Turkish bath and Madrasāh built by Fāzil Khān in 1697-98 are not now traceable.[10]

Mulla Akhwand Shāh Mosque

It is situated near the shrine of Sheikh Ḥamẓa Makhdoomī. It is a most neglected monument and in ruins now. The domes and minarets are in a delapidated condition and the raised verses of the Qurān have been defaced, yet it is a living

---

9a, See plate V

10. Gouhar-i-'Ālam, p. 296.
Waqi'āt-i-Kashmir, p. 190.

example of the Mughal architecture. It was built in 1649 by Dārā Shukoh for his preceptor Mullā Shah Badakhshī.[11]

The mosque has a typical layout. It is as a matter of fact a mosque within mosque, built in polished granite stone. In finish and technique, it surpasses all the Mughal monuments. The exterior wall has six engrailed windows on the north and the south. Main-gate, now closed, lies in the east. The dome over the Meḥrāb, now dilapidated, appears to have been of great architectural importance.[11a] The Turkish bath is in ruins. It is purely a masonary work in bricks and lime.

Jamia' Masjid

The mosque represents both the stone and wooden architecture of Kashmir. It is rather a synthesis of Mughal and Kashmiri architecture.

Originally the mosque was built in 1400 by Sultān Sikandar, but it was devastated by fire on a number of times.[12] In 1622, while Jahāngir was in Kashmir, the mosque was completely

---

11. Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, pp. 116-17. See plate III and IV

11a. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture, (Muslim Period), p. 88.
P.N.K. Bamzai, A History of Kashmir, p. 588.

12. Tuzuk, p. 298.
Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir under the Sultans, pp. 269-70.

destroyed.[13] He directed Malik Ḥaidar to rebuild the mosque. It was again destroyed during the reign of Aurangzeb, but was again restored.[14] The massive arched gateway is built in stone and bricks. The building consists of a courtyard surrounded by wide colonnades. The outer-wall is of masonary work having projecting entrances on all the three sides. The interior of the building contains a large amount of wood work. There are about 378 wooden ornamented posts of 25 to 50 feet in height.[15]

Khānqāh-i-Mu'alla

The Khanqāh is the best example of the typical wooden architecture of Kashmir. Sultān Qutubud-Dīn had great reverence for Sayyid ʿAli Hamadānī had built this mosque for the saint.[16] It was destroyed twice by fire in 1479 and 1731, but was again restored.[17] The present Khānqāh was built in 1732

---

13. Malik Ḥaidar, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, f. 215a.
    Tuzuk, p. 301.
    See the inscription on the main-gate of this mosque also.

14. Waqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 166.

15. See for the details, Prof. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir under the Sultans, pp. 269-70.
    See also Percy Brown, Indian Architecture, (Islamic Period), pp. 87-

16. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir under the Sultans, p. 56.

17. Waqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 244.

by Abdul Barkāṭ Khān.[18]

It is a 70 feet square building two storeye in height. It stands on the right bank of the Jehlam on an irregular masonary foundation of an old temple. Its three tiered pyramidal roof surmounted by the open pavilion for Mu'azzin, over which rises the steeple with 125 feet high finial from the ground is of considerable interest. The interior lower hall is 63 feet long and 43 feet broad. In the centre there are four eight-sided ornamented posts supporting the second storey. The panelled walls and painted ceilings in multi-coloured designs add to the grace of the hall.[19]

This pattern of architecture can be found in all the shrines, khanqāhs and mosques which were built during our period. The khānqāh at Sopore, Baramulla, and Shopiyān are virtually replicas of Shah Hamdān mosque. The shrines at Charari Shareef, Hazraṭbal and so many other shrines scattered all over the Ṣubāh are also in the same style. There is hardly any difference of the architectural design, or ornamentation in these buildings.

---

18. Waqi'āt-i-Kashmir, p. 244.

19. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture, (Islamic Period), pp. 87-88.
James Fergusson, History of Eastern and Indian Architecture, II, pp. 333-34.
Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir under the Sultans, pp.269-70.

In the course of time this style of architecture was introduced in Little and Greater Ṭibeṭ also. The mosques which were built in this region during the Mughal rule represent the provincial style. But the scarcity of wood did not allow the style to flourish on a large scale. It remained confined only to the mosque architecture.

Shigar mosque is a replica of Khānqāh-i-Mu'alā. The facade of the building facing the east consists of a portico as high and wide as the main building. There are three doors of saracenic style in it. Towards the south, there is a gallery of very pleasing design. The centre of the roof has square aperture with a little columned superstructure, surmounted by a curious pinacle. The gaps and openings are filled with sundried bricks. The inner chamber of the building is rectangular with four pillars supporting the ornamented capitals. The exterior walls have lofty windows closed by ornamented lattice work.

The mosque at Leh known as Kashmiri mosque is also in the same style.

We have already mentioned that during the Mughal rule a number of inns sprang up along the trade routes. The inns at Khāmpūra, Changas, Rajouri, Saidābād and Bhimber have survived up to this day, but have lost all magnificence and grandure. These inns have almost a resembling architectural pattern. Each Sarai has two broad divisions, one

for the harem and other for the Emperor. A couple of sleeping chambers adjacent to the big halls, a mosque and a Turkish bath are the peculiarities of these wayside inns. There is an open courtyard encircled by massive stone walls built in stone, lime, and bricks representing the typical Mughal architecture.

The Sarais of changas and Saidābād are fine specimens of this architectural style.

Saidābād Sarai is a large square building divided into three divisions; well built vaulted small sleeping apartments are on all sides. The mosque and a separate rectangular hall lie in the east. There is no passage link between the main building and this hall.

Changas Sarāi is more elegant and ornamented. However, it falls within the same architectural pattern.

*

Calligraphy

Calligraphy and elegant lettering was an art cultivated and valued highly and sometimes treated with greater respect than the art of painting in the Muslim world.[1] It had attained perfection in the Islamic world well before the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmir.[2] Kūfi and Naskhī styles were very popular. The Kūfi style was popularised by the Umayyads while Naskhi flourished under the Abbasides.[3]

Soon after the establishment of Islamic rule in the kingdom of Kashmir, the art of calligraphy developed tremendously. In the course of time a distinct Kashmiri style was evolved.[4] An unwashable ink and unique tints were discovered by the artists.[5] After the fall of Sultanate, the Kashmiri artists entered the imperial service and in the galaxy of artists they retained their individuality.[6]

---

1. A'in, p. 103 (tr. Blochmann)
2. M.S. Dumand, A Handbook of Muhammadan Art, p. 67, 2nd Edition, New York, 1947.
3. M.S. Dunand, A Handbook of Muhammadan Art, p. 67.
4. A'in, (Blochmann tr.), p. 103.
   Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, pp.265-6
5. G.M.D. Sufi, Kashir, Vol. II, p. 556.
6. Tuzuk, p. 44.
   Percy Brown, Indian Paintings Under Mughals (1550-1750), p. 123.

The art of illumination, border decoration and illustration was at its highest pitch during the reign of Akbar. The Kashmiri artists also excelled in this art. The floral designs were most convenient for the religious scriptures.[7] These designs abound in the various works of the period. The Kashmiri artists had achieved mastery in Kūfi, Nastáliq and Shalgamī besides Kashmiri Qalam.[8] The art of calligraphy was considered a noble profession. A number of scholars earned their livelihood by scribing the holy Qurán.[9]

Mohammad Husain **Kashmiri** was a famous calligraphist of our period. He was given the title of Zarrīn Qalam by Akbar.[10] In the art of calligraphy he even surpassed his teachers, Maulāna Mir Áli and Abdul Azīz.[11] His skill was acknowledged by all the calligraphists of the period.[12]

Áli Chaman was another famous Kashmiri calligraphist who excelled in the art at the imperial Court.[13] Mulla Habīb

---

7. Lachi Ram Kashmiri, Khulāsatul-Inshā, f. 25b.

8. Waqiát-i-Kashmir, pp. 170-71.
Abdul Hamid Irfani, Irān-i-Saqīr, p. 163.

9. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 135.
See also A'in, No. 34, (Blochmann) Chapter on the art ~~and~~ of writing and painting, pp. 102-113.

10. A'in, (Blochmann), p. 109.
Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 136.
See also Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, pp. 265-6.

11. A'in, (Blochmann), p. 109. Maulana Mir Ali was official scribe of Husain Shah Chak, Waqiāt-i-Kashmir p. 115. See also G.M.D. Sufi, Kashir, II, p. 568.

12. Tuzuk, p. 44; Tazkira Khushnawisān, p. 26.

13. A'in, (Blochmann), p. 109.

Ganāʿi, a famous scholar of his time, was a calligraphist also. His Nastʿaliq style was unique.[14] Hāji Bahram was his contemporary. His scribed Qurān could bring an enormous amount of 10,000 tankas.[15] Mulla Mohammad was a pupil of Mulla Mir Husain Zarrīn Qalam.[16] He adopted Shalgami style while his teacher had excelled in Bādāmi style. Mulla Mohammad joined the Court of Shahjahan and was given the title of Zarrīn Raqam. The inscription in various imperial buildings were scribed by him. His elder brother, Mulla Muhsin, was also an eminent calligraphist and was styled as Shīrīn Qalam.[17]

---

14. Mohammad 'Azam claims to have acquired his autograph copy of Mirsadul-Ibad, a treatize on Taṣawuf. It contained 10,000 verses. The scribe has maintained symmetry, Waqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 134.

15. Waqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 135.

16. Waqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 170.

17. Waqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 170-71.

Painting:

Skilful Kashmiris had excelled in all kinds of arts and crafts but it is quite strange that they were deficient in a high degree of proficiency in the art of painting.

The remark of Tara-natha, a Tibetan monk, regarding the existence of a Kashmir School of Painting had become a point of controversy among the art historians.[1] Karal Khandalavala, H.B. Havel and V. Smith suggest that the remarks of the Tibetan monk are partially correct.[2] They presume that the panel or fresco paintings might have been cultivated or were already existing in the Ṣubāh at the time of the monk's visit in 1608, which would have led him to this conclusion.

In the light of above controversy the statement of Abul Faz'l that there was a group of five Kashmiri painters at the Court of Akbar is of great significance.[3] But we have not been able to acquire any piece of their artistic display. Furthermore, there is not a single evidence on this point in the

---

1. Tara Natha, <u>History of Budhism in India</u>, tr. Lama Chimpa, etc. etc. Simla, 1970, p. 446.

2. H.B. Havel, <u>The Art Heritage of India</u>, pp. 34 & 35n.

   Karl Khandalavala, <u>New Documents of Indian Paintings</u>, pp. 78-85.

   Percy Brown, <u>Indian Painting</u>, p. 125.

3. Percy Brown, <u>Indian Painting Under the Mughals</u>, p. 189.

chronicles. It is only in the late 17th century that we come across the Basohali art which was an offshoot of Pahari School of Painting. It bears the distinct features of Mughal art.[4] The late 18th and 19th century works of Hindu mythology contain a number of paintings similar to the Pahari Art.[5] But the colour combination and finishing is not so perfect as in the art pieces of Pahari School.

It appears that the art of painting began to gain ground in the Subāh only after the disintegration of the Empire. But it did not flourish there because the lack of any kind of patronage from the Afghans and the Sikhs, while the Hill Rajas extended liberal support to the artists, which resulted in the development of Pahari School of Art.[6]

---

4. H.B. Havel, The Art Heritage of India, p. 35. See also W.G. Archer, Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills, Vol. I.

5. See the collection of Sanskrit and Hindi Section in Research Library, Srinagar, Nos. 1159, 2302 (11 Paintings); 718, (11, 16 and 18) 889.

6. W.G. Archer, Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills, Chapter III and IV.

   G.M.D. Sufis presumption that there existed a school of painting in Kashmir is not supported by facts. The specimen of paintings in fresco on the walls of Barahdari of Nashat and Shalimar does not indicate the work of any Kashmiri painter. The Mughal Court was always accompanied by the imperial artisans, Kashir, II, p. 557. P.N.K. Bamzai had also committed the same mistake. The love lyrics of Vilhana a Kashmiri poet of 11th century, are not definitely illustrated by a Kashmiri Artist in the 15th or 16th centuries, A History of Kashmir, p. 576. Khandalavalas supposition is that the paintings belong to U.P. or Delhi School, New Documents of Indian Painting, pp. 80-85.

Music

The decay of the Sultanate and the loss of independence adversely affected the harmonious growth of the peculiar traits in the art of music which was the pride of the Kashmiri Sultanate. The Shah Mir Sultan, in general, but Zainulābidin, Haidar Shah and Hasan Shah were great patrons of this art.[1] Yousf Shah Chak and Habba Khātūn were fond of music and could play on various instruments. Mirza Haidar Dughlat also enriched the music of Kashmir by various instruments.[2]

In spite of linguistic difference, the Mughals patronized the musicians and rewarded them from time to time. Akbar had a group of Kashmiri musicians at his Court.[3] Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb rewarded the musicians and minstrels at the time of their arrival in the Ṣubāh.[4] But towards the close of his reign, Aurangzeb directed the Ṣubehdārs to discourage the musicians and take away their instruments.[5]

---

1. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, pp. 271-72.
2. A.N. I, p. 198.
   Kamgar Husain, Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri, f. 132a.
   Abul Hasan, Jahangir Nama, p. 147.
3. A'in, (Blochmann tr.), p. 681.
4. A.N. III, p. 541.
   Lahori, Badshah Nama, I (II), p. 53.
   See also Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, IIIp. 100.
5. J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, III, p. 100.

Saints, Ṣufis, and local mystics were very fond of classical music and the art thus was patronized by them.

Kashmir music had three distinct forms, Sufiana Mūsiqi, Chakri and Sahrāí. Sufiana Mūsiqi never filtered down to the masses. Sufiana Musiqi remained the privilege of the aristocracy only. It is no wonder that it still retains the feudal characteristics.[6] Chakri (group songs) and Sahrai styles were patronized by the common people.

Here it may not lie out of place to refer to the Baghats. This tribe is almost scattered all over the Ṣubāh.[7] Their services were required by the peasantry at the time of marriage ceremonies. This class of minstrels performed jashans in honour of the emperors and Ṣubehdārs at the time of their arrival.[8]

Sāz, Santoor, Sitār, and Dukra were the instruments required for Sufiāna music. Daf, Sārangi, lute, and earthen pitcher were common musical instruments.[9]

---

6. Qaisar Qalandar,'Music of Kashmir' article published in The Hindustan Times, April 4, 1976.

7. Lawrance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 312. See also P.N.K. Bamzai, A History of Kashmir, pp. 569-575.

8. J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, III, p. 100. See also Lahori, Badshah Nama, I,(II), pp. 53-54, 55. See Lawrance, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 312.

9. Tuzuk, p. 294. See also Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 272.

Khwāja Momin Jahil, and Maulana Khwāja Mohammad were two famous critics music of our period.

Khwāja Momin Jahil was son of Abul Qāsim. Jahil was pupil of Mulla Jawāhir Nanta famous musician of his time. Momin Jahil was a close associate of Yousf Shah Chak, who was himself a lover of music.[10] He has written a treatise on music also.[11] Maulānā Mohammad was the pupil of Khwāja Mōmin. He excelled in this art during the reign of Shahjahan.[12]

---

10. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 158.

11. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 159.

12. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 159.

*

II The Mughal Gardens

The fanciful Mughal gardens highly elegant, exquisite and tasteful are scattered all over the Ṣubāh. They still retain their grace, magnificence and artistic excellence. Historians, adventurers, naturalists and poets paid eloquent tributes to the natural and scenic beauty and the decorative art pattern of the sublime grace and exquisiteness of the Mughal gardens.

The Mughal emperors were very fond of gardens and the valley of Kashmir in its profusion of superb natural beauty, its variegated foliage and its enchanting vernal flower growth afforded the natural ground for the efflorescence of numerous gardens and the enclosed monuments to shed lustre to the entire set up. Right from the annexation hundreds of gardens were laid out by the emperors, the Ṣubahdārs, and other principal officers. Though the tradition of gardening and horticulture in Kashmir dates back to the period of the Sultāns,[1] and even before yet there were certain characteristics which are associated with the Mughals only.

The fencing, symetrical arrangement of the folower beds, presence of water and above all the existence of fruit trees within the garden were the peculiarities of the Mughal gardens. As a matter of fact the modern horticulture owes a great deal to the founders of these gardens. Experiments in

---

1. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir under the Sultans, p. 249.

grafting and the introduction of new fruit trees was virtually started with these gardens.[2] Most of the gardens were laid out around the Dal lake and in the vicinity of the city. It is said that more than 700 gardens were found around the lake only.[3]

As mentioned above Akbar founded the township of Nāgar Nagar in 1597. A beautiful garden called Darshan Bagh was laid out by him within the fortified city.[4] In 1622, Jahangir renovated the imperial palaces. Mu'tamad Khān was assigne this work.[5] A beautiful garden was laid out in front of the palace. It had three terraces and an art gallery was arranged in the centre of this square garden. This garden was called Bagh-i-Nūr Afzā.[6]

Bagh-i-Ilahi

It was laid out by Yousf Khān Rizvi during the tenure of his office as Ṣubahdār in the vicinity of Batspora.[7]

---

2. Tuzuk, p. 301

3. Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, ff. 110-11.

4. Tuzuk, p. 302.
Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 111.

5. Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, III, p. 567.

6. Tuzuk, p. 302.

7. A.N., III, p. 618.
Lahori, Badshah Nama, I, p. 27.
Kumbu, Amal-i-Salih, II, p. 37.

A canal three yeards in width was brought from the Sindh for the irrigation of this garden.[8] A pavilion was built in the centre with a tank in the front. Rows of fountains were installed in it. It was beautified by the plantation of chinars.[9] Later on Shahjahan built two more pavilions on the either side of canal and included this garden among the imperial gardens.[10]

Bagh-i-Naseem

It stands in a fine open position well raised above the Dal lake. A cool fragrant breeze blows throughout the day and night. It was laid out by Akbar,[11] and improved and enlarged by 'Azam Khān, Saif Khān, and Afzāl Khān.[12] It was enclosed by a massive wall and a canal was dug out from Lār defile to irrigate the garden. It retained its fame on account of its beautiful chinar trees. These were planted by Akbar and later Ali Mardan Khan also added more plants.[13]

---

8. Kumbu, Amal-i-Salih, II, p. 37.

9. Kumbu, Amal-i-Salih, II, p. 37.

10. Lahori, Badshah Nama, I, p. 28.
Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 114a.
Hasan's contention that the garden was laid out by Shahjahan is not correct. See A.N., III, p. 618. also Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 28.

11. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 28.
C.M. Villiers Stuart, Gardens of the Great Mughals, p. 158.

12. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 28.
Qazvini, Shahjahan Nama, III, f. 606.

13. Stuart Villier is not correct in assuming that the chimar was introduced in the Subāh by Ali Mardān Khān, Gardens of the Great Mughals, p. 158. Even during his first visit Akbar saw massive worn out chinar trees in the Subāh, A.N., III, p. 548. See also Tuzuk, pp.296-301.

Bagh-i-Bahar Arā

It was laid out by Nurjahan Begam in the midst of the Dal lake opposite Darshan Bagh near Sodra Khon.[14] It was divided into two terraces. A double storeyed pavilion was built during the reign of Shahjahan in 1635.[15]

Noor Bagh

It was founded by Nurjahan in the vicinity of I'dgāh. A branch of Shah Kul was brought through Zunimar for the irrigation of the garden.[16] It was famous for its fruits flowers and chinars.[17] The garden is now in ruins but the mohalla which sprang up around it is called Noorgagh.

Bagh-i-Irādat Khān

This garden was planted by Irādat Khān in 1618-19 near Nawapora. It was divided into various terraces. Cascades,

---

14. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, pp. 26-27.
    Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, p. 113b.
    Sodra Khon is an island in the Dal lake. The lake is considered to be deepest around this place.
15. Qazvini, Shahjahan Nama, III, f. 317a.
16. Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 114.
17. Qazvini, Shahjahan Nama, III, f. 605.
    (Transcript copy of Department of History).

fountains and chutes made of polished granite were its main peculiarities.[18] A magnificent palace was built in the garden which was destroyed by fire.[19]

Bagh-i-Haidarabad

Ali Mardān K͟hān laid out a splendid garden near Noushehra. It had many terraces. Tanks and fountains were built in each terrace. A canal was dugout from Lār to provide water to the garden.[20]

Another garden was founded by him near Tel Bal and named Bagh-i-Aliabād.[21] Fruit trees of various kinds were planted in the garden and the income from the fruits was annually sent to Mashad Sharif.[22]

---

18. Waqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 124-25.
    Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmiri, f. 117b.
19. Waqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 124-25.
20. Waqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 140.
    Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, p. 117a.
21. Waqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 141.
22. Waqiʿāt-i-Kashmir, p. 141

Bagh-i-Sadiqābād

Sadiq Khān, a noble of Shahjahan, laid out a beautiful garden on the bank of the Dal lake opposite Shala Mār Bagh. It consisted of a number of terraces. A canal from Lār was constructed for its irrigation.[23] Carved stone fountains were the striking features of this garden.[24] A mosque was built in it during the reign of Aurangzeb by Fāẓil Khān and the Holy relic of prophet was placed in it.[25] It is now known as Hazrat Bal.

Choudhari Bagh

Mahesh Koul a Choudhari laid out a splendid garden comprised of 60 terraces near Ishabarī.[26] Irrigation facilities were provided to this garden by taking out a channel from the Sindh.

---

23. Zafar Khān Ahsan, Haft Masnavi, f. 15.
    Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, p. 118a.

24. C.M. Villier Stuart, Gardens of the Great Mughals, p. 160.

25. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 191.
    Hasan, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 118.

26. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 166.
    Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, p. 118a.
    Diwan Kripa Ram, Gulzar-i-Kashmir, p. 214.
    Anand Koul, Archaeological Remains of Kashmir, p. 73.

Bagh-i-Zafar Khān

In 1635-36, Zafar Khān laid the foundation of a large and beautiful garden on the bank of the Dal lake. Zafar Khān offered the garden as a peshkash to Shahjahan during the latter's visit to this garden. On account of its vastness, it was named Bagh-i-Tūlāni.[27]

Bagh-i-Zafarābād, Bagh-i-Gulshan, Bagh-i-Hasanābād were also founded by him during his tenure of Subahdāri.[28]

Besides, the above mentioned gardens, we have the world-famous Shālimar, Nishāt, Chashma Shāhi, and Hārwan gardens. These gardens are situated on the Dal lake in the background of a mountain.

Shālimār Bagh

Shala Mār is a village in the Phāk Parganah at a distance of 9 miles from Srinagar.[29] During Raja Parvarsen's rule (78-139 A.D.), a famous saint lived in the vicinity of Shala Mar. Raja Parversen laid out this garden in honour of the saint.[30] In the course of time it was reduced to ruins. Nothing

27. Lahori, Badshah Nama, I, pp. 27-28.

28. Zafar Khān, Ahsan, Haft Masnavi, ff. 15-16.

29. In Tuzuk, p. 303, and Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri, f. 133a, it is Shala Mal but A'in, II, p. 173, has Shala Mar, which is correct.

30. C.M. Villier Stuart, Gardens of the Great Mughals, p. 162.

was left there on its site except a natural water-fall.[31] On his tour in this area, Jahangir was too much fascinated by the natural beauty of the area and he laid out a garden called Bagh-i-Farah Bakhash.[32] It was spread over an area of 7500 square yards. The canal passing through the garden was paved with stones under the supervision of Prince Khurram.[33]

The garden had three terraces with a tank in the centre of each division studed with fountains. A beautiful Baradhari was built in the central portion.[34] Cascades and chutes were paved with coloured glazed tiles so as heighten the effect of the reflection of the sky and the clouds.[35] Chabutaras were raised in each division at the point of water chute. A high wall was raised around the garden and a small cell was built on the four corners.

The Emperor Shahjahan visited the garden in 1636. The poplars and chinars planted some fourteen years earlier were in full bloom.[36] He directed Zafar Khan to add

---

31. A'in, II, p. 173.

32. Tuzuk, p. 303.
Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri, f. 133.

33. Qazvini, Badshah Nama, III, f. 315b.

34. Qazvini, Badshah Nama, III, f. 316.
Kumbu, Amal-i-Salih, II, p. 34.
See plate No VI

35. Kumbu, Amal-i-Salih, II, pp. 34-35.

36. Qazvini, Badshah Nama, III, f. 315b.

another garden adjacent to Faraḥ Bakhsh. A tank, forty square yards, was built in the centre. A bārādari, ten feet by eight, was also constructed in it. This part of garden was called Bagh-i-Faiz Bakhsh. It was reserved for the harem only.[37]

Nishāt Bagh

It is situated at a distance of seven miles from Srinagar on the farthest end of the Dal lake. It was the gayest of all the gardens and even surpassed the Shālimar garden both in layout and design and architecture.[38] It was put up by Āsaf Khan during the reign of Jahangir. In 1635, Asaf Khān hosted a feast in honour of Shahjahan. He was highly impressed by the layout of the garden.[39]

The garden comprised 9 terraces and the last one was reserved for zenāna.[40] A magnificent palace was built in the zenāna. An 18 feet high arched wall separated the ḥarem garden from the rest of the garden.[41] A channel about 13

37. Qazvini, Shahjahan Nama, III, f. 317.
Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 24.

38. C.M. Villier Stuart, Gardens of the Great Mughals, p. 168. See plate No VII and VIII

39. Kumbu, Amal-i-Salih, II, f. 35.

40. Qazvini, Shahjahan Nama, III, f. 317.
Kumbu, Amal-i-Salih, II, p. 35.
V. Stuart states that there were 12 terraces in the garden, Gardens of the Great Mughals, p. 168.

41. This wall is still in tact but the zenānā palace and the garden is in ruins.

feet wide runs across the garden foaming down from one terrace to other in the shape of cascades.

Each terrace was in itself a complete garden.[42] In the centre of each terrace there was a tank adorned with fountains made of stone.[43] Sexagonal marble chabūtarās were erected in each terrace bridging the canal at the head of every water fall. These chabūtarās are fine examples of architecture. These marble thrones are a special feature of Nishāt garden.[43b] There were two bārādaris in the garden, one at the entrance and the other in the third terrace. The bārādari was a two-storeyed building in Kashmir-Mughal architecture standing on a stone foundation. It is fifty-nine feet long and forty eight feet wide.[44]

Besides the above stated gardens, the Chashma Shahi, Bagh-i-Dilāwar Khān,[45] Bagh-i-Saif Khan,[46] Bagh-i-Gangi Reshi,[47] and Bagh-i-Qawamuddin Khān,[48] were of considerable importance.

---

42. Kumbu, Amal-i-Salih, II, p. 35.

43. V. Stuart, Gardens of the Great Mughals, p. 171.
43b. See plate No IX
44. See also Villier Stuart, Gardens of the Great Mughals, pp. 166-68.

45. Waqiát-i-Kashmir, p. 134.

46. Waqiāt-i-Kashmir, p. 165.
Hasan, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, p. 118b.

47. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 29.

48. Waqiát-i-Kashmir, p. 166.

Chashma Shāhi

Chashma Shahi, a famous spring of fresh water flows on the slope of Zebwan mountain in the Phāk Parganah about five miles from Srinagar. This spot was previously called *Kutlina*. It attracted large corwds of people during the summers. During a visit Prince Dārā Shukoh was impressed by the natural setting of the place. He laid out a garden and built a few houses and a mosque[49] on its site. A marble cistern originally built at Lahore was brought to Kashmir and placed over the source of this spring.[50] Subsequently, Jahān Āra Begam laid out a beautiful garden around the spring and called it *Chashma-Shāhi* after the name of her preceptor, Mulla Shah Badakhshi.[51] C.M. Villiers Stuart has translated the Chashma Shāhi as Royal spring.[52] It has presumably led Bamzai,[53] Dr Parmu[54] and Ferguson[55] to the erroneous conclusion that the spring garden was laid out by Shahjahan, which is negated by the contemporary evidences.[56] Mullāh Shah Badakhshi used to call it *Chashma Sāhibiya*.[57] There was another source of the spring above this one.

49. Tawakul Beg Kulabi, *Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shahi*, ff.56a-b.
50. Tawakul Beg Kulabi, *Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shahi*, ff.56a-b.
51. Tawakul Beg Kulabi, *Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shahi*, f. 56b.
52. *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, pp. 177-8.
53. *A History of Kashmir*, p. 594.
54. *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, pp. 295-9.
55. *Kashmir-A Historical Introduction*, pp. 123-24.
56. Tawakul Beg Kulabi, *Nuskha-i-Ahwal-i-Shahi*, f. 56b.
57. Tawakul Beg Kulabi, *Nuskha-i-Ahwal-i-Shahi*, f. 56b.

Its source was widened by Hasan Raina a desciple of the Mullah[58] to allow greater volume of water to gush out.[59] During 1649-50, Husain Beg Khān arranged a garden around this spring and built an edifice nearby.[60] Dara Shukoh and Jahan Ara Begum too added a few buildings to embellish the place.[61]

Other gardens spread over the valley were too numerous and it is difficult to describe each of them separately. But the Bagh-i-Wafa, Bagh-i-Shihabuddinpora, Bagh-i-Dara Shukeh Bijbehāra, Verinag, Achiwal, Kokar Nāg, Islamabad, Machi Bhawan in other parts of the valley have won the eternal fame.

Bagh-i-Shihabuddinpora and Bagh-i-Wafa were situated below Srinagar and the rest of these eternal gardens lie in the Marāz division.

---

58. Tawakul Beg Kulabi, Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhi, f. 28b.

59. Tawakul Beg Kulabi, Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhi, f. 56b.

60. Tawakul Beg Kulabi, Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhi, f. 56b.
Bamzai assumes that the garden was laid out in 1642 by Ali Mardan Khan is not supported by facts, A History of Kashmir, p. 594.
J.P. Ferguson, has also committed the same mistake. He states the spring garden was built in AD 1632 by Ali Mardan Khan. It is evident that Ali Mardan Khan had not even joined the Mughal service at this time.

61. Tawakul Beg Kulabi, Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhi, f. 56b.
Hasan, Tārikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 117b.

Shihābuddinpora is a joyous spot on the confluence of the Sindh and the Jehlum.[62] It was developed during the reign of Jahāngir. Chinar trees were planted in it and two pavilions were built in the garden.[63]

Bagh-i-Wafā

Mansbal lake is at a distance of 15 miles from Srinagar and the garden was laid out on the right side of this lake near village, Safāpūr.[64] It was planted by Mirza Haidar Duglat[65] but improved upon and renovated by Nurjahan Begum.[66] In 1642, the garden was assigned to Jahan Ārā Begum.[67]

The garden was spread over the slope of Diyar-Larī mountain. It was divided into three terraces, tanks and fountains were installed in each terrace.[68]

---

62. At present it is known as Shadepora at the distance of 12 miles in the north-west of Srinagar in long. 74° 43' lat. 34° 11'. See also Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 727.
63. Tuzuk, p. 294.
    Lāhori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 29.
64. Long.74° 43' Lat. 34° 16'.
65. A.N., III, p. 556. Moorcraft states that the garden was laid out by Akbar is not born out by facts. Travels in the Himalayan Provinces, etc. II, p.221.
66. Tuzuk, p. 314.
67. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 195.
68. Tuzuk, p. 313.
    Qazvini, Shahjahan Nama, III, f. 317.
    Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 195.

Verināg

The spring garden of Verināg was most unusual of all the Mughal gardens, as it was situated at the foot of thickly wooded hill-side about three miles below Jawahir Tunnel.

Crystal clear water bearing the reflection of the pine laden mountain in the background enchanted Prince Salim. He visited the spot in the company of his father and directed his officials to build a house for himself.[69] By 1622, the house was complete and a beautiful garden was also laid out in front of the spring. The basin shaped spring was embanked with heaven stones in octagonal position. Each side of the octagon was 17 yards long and the diameter of the spring was 40 yards.[70] A magnificent building was put up above the spring in brick and mortar.[71]

In 1636, Shahjahan visited the garden, but he did not like the layout and the buildings of the garden.[72] Malik Ḥaidar was appointed as Dāroga Bayūtāṭ and directed to remodel the whole plan.[73] The existing main channel divided

---

69. Elliot, Memoirs of Jahangir, p. 56.
Malik Haidar was assigned this work, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, f. 230b.

70. Tuzuk, p. 313.
Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, III, p. 570.

71. Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, III, p. 570.

72. Qazvini, Shahjahan Nama, III, f. 328b.

73. Qazvini, Shahjahan Nama, III, f. 328b.
Lahori, Badshah Nama, I, pp. 52-3.

the garden but two smaller channels were then built for irrigating the side gardens. A palace with a Turkish bath was built in the centre.[74] The garden was named Shahābad.[75]

Achawal Bagh

It is situated at a distance of 6 miles from Islamabad. A small but a pretty garden was laid out there by Jahangir in 1622.[76] It was improved upon and renovated by Shahjahan in 1636.[77] A pavilion was built in the centre of the garden. Later in 1641, a summer house was built in it.[78] The garden was called Ṣāhibābād. In 1662, Aurangzeb assigned the garden to Zebunnisa Begum.[79]

---

74. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, pp. 52-53.
Kumbu, Amal-i-Salih, II, p. 43.

75. Qazvini, Shahjahan Nama, III, f. 328.
J.J. Modi has raised a controversy over the date of the foundation on the basis of two inscriptions. He suggests that the work was started in 1029 and the work was completed in 1036 H. Journal of Royal Asiatic Society Bombay, 1917-18, Vol. 25, No. 71, pp. 64-73.

76. Tuzuk, p. 313.
Qazvini, Shahjahan Nama, III, f. 327.

77. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 51.

78. Lahori, Badshah Nama, II, p. 51.

79. Mohammad Kazim, ʿĀlamgir Nama, II, pp. 836-37.

The vigorous effort made by the Mughals in developing the remote scenic spots into health resorts produced healthy and beneficial effect on the economic life of the people. We have already stated emperors, subehdārs, and other officials vied with one another in laying out gardens and building monumental palaces and summer houses. Every one wanted to surpass his predecessor,with the result continuous development was constantly effected and these picnic spots too often visited by and reserved for the various categories of the ruling class became the tourist resorts. The modern tourist industry, as a matter of fact, owes a lot to the Mughals. The direct impact was no less beneficial. It checked the economic drain out of the Ṣubāh to a great extent. The money realized from the people was diverted to this field. Enormous amount was spent over on these gardens and monuments.[80] Eight lakhs of rupees were alone spent in one year by Shahjahan on the buildings and gardens.[81] These gardens gave a fillip to horticulture also. Experiments on grafting and plantation of new varieties of fruit were also carried on in these gardens[82] with too well-known and beneficial effects for the variety and exuberance of fruit industry in valley.

---

80. Gouhar-i-Ālam, p. 267.
81. Dastūrul Amal-i-Shahjahāni, f. 18, Sulaiman Collection 675/53, Maulana Azad Library, AMU., Aligarh.
82. See Chapter, II, Section III.
Villier Stuart, The Gardens of Great Mughals,p. 166.

*



PLATE NO. I



PLATE NO. II



PLATE NO. III



PLATE NO. IV



PLATE NO. V

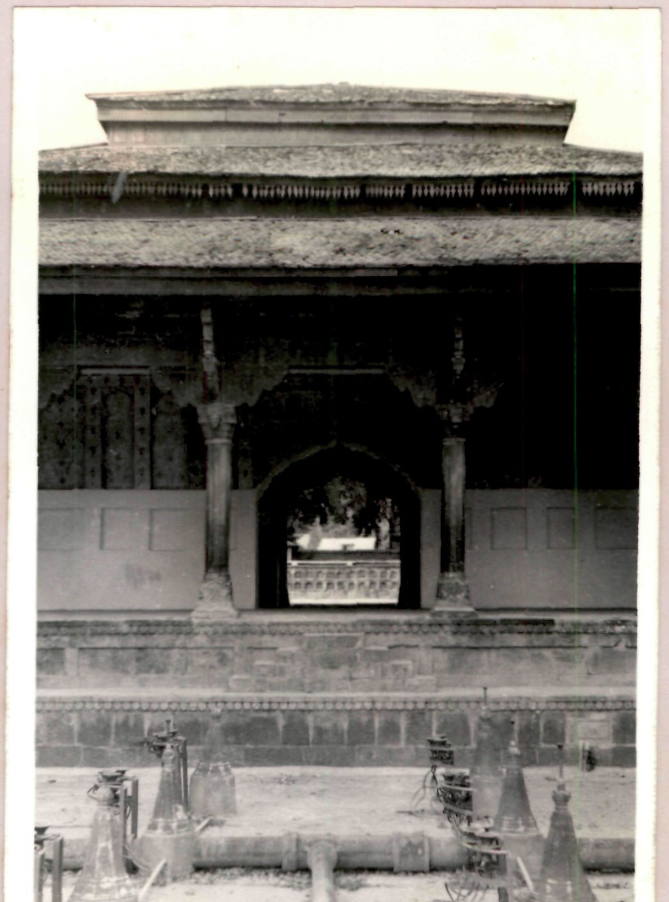


PLATE NO. VI



PLATE NO. VII



PLATE NO. VIII



PLATE NO. IX

XI

CONCLUSION

The Ṣubāh of Kashmir constituted a very significant unit of the Mughal Empire as it lay in the region adjoining the Kabul province as well as touching the border of the Central Asian lands. Its southern boundaries were adjacent to the provinces of Lahore and Multan which were connected by a number of routes with the plains of the Punjab, which lent it compactness and unity with the rest of Mughal India. Its climate was bracing and healthful which attracted the Mughal royalty, nobility and the social and intellectual elite for frequent visits to the enchanting valley with its lofty mountains, superb beauty and majestic view on the banks of its lakes and rivers. It, therefore, became a first rate tourist resort to which the rich people flocked to pass the summer days in happiness and revelry particularly because to the Mughals, the Turks, the Persians and the Afghans who constituted the bulk of the upper classes, the scorching heat of the summer sun in the plains was intolerable.

It was no mere accident of history or a freak in the chain of events that prompted Akbar to undertake the extension of the Mughal rule to the region of Kashmir. It was in fact the logical culmination of the imperial adventure to bring about the annexation of Kashmir by any means or under any circumstances so that the defence of the Empire in the North-Western region should be completed by holding the regions of Kashmir and Kabul under the sway of the Mughals. To Akbar the subjugation of Kashmir was the

fulfilment of an opportunity for the realisation of the dream of having impergnable natural frontiers with the outlying posts garrisoned with strong forces to repulse any attempts of invasion on the part of the Uzbeks or any other source of trouble to the Mughal frontiers in that region. A week Kashmir under the possession of the declining Sultanate of the Chaks with the faction fight among the nobles could have fallen an easy prey to the cupidity of the rising power of the Uzbeks through Gilgit and Ladakh and could have further posed a threat not only to Kabul but to the Mughal possessions in the Punjab also. It would have checked the imperial ambitions in the South as the Emperor's hands would have remained tied down with the affairs of the North-West. So it was indispensable to Akbar to bring Kashmir under his direct rule and consolidate his power through maintaining a strong army and enforcing vigorous administrative measures so as to render it an effective safeguard against any misadventure by an external power and to overawe opposition within Kashmir with its other units aimed at restoring the Chak Sultanate or any other insurgent move.[1] Moreover, the weakness of Yousf Shah and Yaqoob Shah in cumbating the Mughal advance tactfully and vigorously as well as the intrigue and treachery of the Kashmir nobility together with the perennial Shia-Sunni conflicts darkened the horizon of Kashmiri politics and frustrated all hopes of putting up a stuborn and successful opposition to the Mughal enterprise. Consequently the kingdom of Kashmir lost its independence and became a regular province of the Mughal Empire in 1586, which though it proved advantageous to the Kashmiries in many respects by widening the

---

1. A.N., III, p.626

scope of their economic and social activities and developments in many fields in the Ṣubāh, yet it restricted the full growth of the people of Kashmir to rise to the stature of independent living according to their own choice and wishes and the continuity of institutions and traditions which independence alone can bringforth. Here in lies the significance of the debacle inflicted on the Kashmiris in 1584 and 1586 as it stunted the growth of the natives as self-governing people which further deteriorated in the form of subjugation under the Afghans and the Sikhs on the fall of the Mughal Empire. It further engendered the loss of spirit; enthusiasm and fervour and curbed the martial chracteristics of the Kashmiris. This sentiment was voiced by a number of contemporary Kashmiris historians who were gravely shaken and grieved at the loss of the power from the hands of the local people and passing-off the kingdom of Kashmir to the possession of the Mughals.[2]

The annexation of Kashmir brightened the prospects of the Mughal Empire and within a period of two years from the fall of Kashmir Akbar convened a war council during his visit to Kashmir in 1589 at which the decision of the conquest of Kabul was taken, ostensibly with a view to restricting the expansion

---

2. Malik Haidar, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, ff. 185a-86. Baharistan-i-Shahi, f. 175a.

St. Zavier, who accompanied Akbar to Kashmir in 1597, had also recorded similar sentiments of the people, JRASB, Vol. 23, N.S. 1927, pp. 115-16.

of the Uzbek Empire in that direction. Thereafter the strategically important principalities of Kashtawār, Punch, Pakhli, Little & Greater Tibet, Rajouri and Noushahra were reduced to submission and merged with the Ṣubāh to widen the scope of the defence of Kashmir. It signified the drawing up of the political geography of large part of modern Kashmir by the Mughals.

Despite the many disadvantages latent in the annexation of Kashmir from the Mughal occupation brought about many good things to Kashmir. The administrative machinery which was thrown out of gear during the decline of the Chak power was streamlined and made effective. The land revenue system in particular was reshaped and brought in tune with the administration prevailing in the rest of the empire introducing annual and periodical checks and auditing, chances of cheating and embezzlement were reduced in the accounts and revenues. The institution of auditing was introduced by the Mughal practice of Barāmdi. The judicial, police and general administration was formed on a firm footing. The litigants had free access to the Courts and officials. The Courts of the Qāzis, the executive and revenue officers dispensed justice. The Ṣubahdār also set a law court to redress the grievances of the complainants, even the Emperor was accessible to the offended parties for the dispensation of justice. The imperial officers, the manṣabdārs and jāgirdārs were ordered to refund the illegal cesses and abwābs which they realized from the people, yet cases of officials indulging in corrupt practices, misappropriations and illegal exaction on record yet they constitute exceptions and not the rule.

The uniformity of administrative system, abolition of the toll tax, improvement and extension of the routes boosted the trade and commerce of the Subāh. The peace and tranquility in the region as well as the change in the agrarian conditions rehabilitated the shattered economy of the Ṣubāh after the Mughal conquest.

The woolen textile of Kashmir entered into a world market through the medieum of export trade of the Mughal Empire. It enriched the Ṣubāh and promoted the industry enormously. The wool merchants monopolized the trade in the wool producing areas, and important feature was that the Kashmiri merchants were henceforth seen in Nepal, Patna, Ahmadabad and Aurangabad.

The Mughals introduced the Cash nexus in the Ṣubāh. In the initial stages it created some problems but in the course of the time worked well. The payments for external trade were made by the Hundīs. The revenue was partially realised in kind but it was commuted into cash by disposing it of to the grain merchants. An important feature of the period under review is the emergence of a middle class which monopolised the woollen textiles, shawl industry in the urban centres and at a latter stage the revenue farming.

The Mughals spent enormous sums on the construction of monuments, gardens and development of health resorts. Even the petty officials also emulated the example of their masters in this regard. Thus the bulk of the revenue was spent over in the development of the Ṣubāh.

The Mughal conquest had also given rise to the feelings of distrust and dislike among the Kashmiris towards the conquerers and there was no love lost within the ruler and ruled for a longtime. We find better relations subsisting by the time we come to the Aurangzeb's reign, yet it would be equally incorrect to say that the Kashmiris were altogether ignored in matters of appointment to public offices. We find a number of Kashmiris serving the Mughals in other parts of the Empire. Iba Chak, Husain Chak, Shamsi Chak, Mali Ali, Malik Haidar, Yousf Khān, Mulla Moḥsin Fāni and a large number were given manṣabs and jāgirs, during the reign of Aurangzeb. Malik Haidar and Malik Ali were given jāgīrs and title of Raisul-Mulk and Chugtāi was conferred on Malik Haidar by Jahangir, Mulla Moḥsin Fāni was appointed Ṣadr of Allahabad and Mulla Mohammad Yousf was appointed as a Waqia-Navis of the Mughal Embassy to Iran by Shah Jahan. Abdul Karim Kashmiri was conferred the Foujdari of Dabāmoni by Aurangzeb, besides, a number of Kashmiris were given minor posts. But we cannot ignore the fact that prestigious posts were usually assigned to Irānis, and Tūrānis. The Indian element was only a later development. Favourable climate, scenic beauty and continued peace as well as attentive and devoted following was enough incentive to the sūfis, saints and scholars to settle in the valley. They belonged to various nationalities and groups. This gave rise to a phenomenon of new social behaviour and humanitarianism. Naqashbandi and Chishti orders were introduced and flourished during our period. Islam was introduced into the farflung areas of Ladakh and

Kashtawar. The dissemination of the Shia faith was checked by the extension of the mystic movements and indirect result of these sūfi movements was the disintegration of the indigenous mystic order called the Rishi order. The sectarian feelings aroused by the orthodox rulers like Mirza Ḥaidar Duglat and the Chaks were still alive. But in the course of time, under the strong rule of the Mughals sectarian feuds and feelings were suppressed.

Some modern historians have attributed the loss of martial spirit among the Kashmiris totally to the establishment of the Mughal rule.[3] But the martial spirit of the Kashmiris though immensely diminished by the prolonged Mughal occupation had other factors to influence it adversely. The Budhist, Shaiva, and Sūfi influence also dampened it. With the exception of Sultan Shihabuddin the other Sultans were contented with the territorial limits of their kingdom. We cannot ignore the unfortunate fact that a band of 300 soldiers under Mirza Haidar Duglat could defeat the Kashmirians in 1533 and again in 1540. Even Mohammad Qāsim Khān entered the city of Srinagar in 1586 without any hinderence. It is thus obvious that the loss of martial spirit was to some extent the outcome of a process initiated much before the establishment of Mughal rule, but it was in fact destroyed by the Mughal occupation.

---

3. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 282.

The Mughal conquest was a turning point in the cultural history of the Subāh. The mass scale contacts enriched the already copicus cultural heritage. Cultural life attained a new dimension. Persian became the popular language. Gulistān, Bostān, Karima Nāmihaq of Sadi, Pandnāmā of Attar and Diwān-i-Hafiz were committed to memory. The era produced historians, scholars, and poets of the highest order.

The Sanskrit language was eliminated because it lost the state patronage and had no firm ground among the masses. Art, architecture and garden culture entered into a new phase of development.

It was the Mughal period which opened the way for European travellers. Jerome Xavier, Bendiet De goes, Pelsaert, Bernier, Desideri and Father Fryre came to the enchanting valley during our period. Through their accounts and writings they introduced Kashmir with its novalties to the European world, which in long run helped in the growth and development of modern tourist industry and foreign trade, and other contacts and aroused their interest in the land, the people and the masterly crafts of Kashmir.

The remarks of Sir Jadunath Sarkar regarding the socio-economic and cultural conditions of Kashmir at the close of our period cannot be swept aside. It is quite strange that a historian of his eminence and calibre could pass sweeping remarks on the basis of isolated and stray references and attribute the

ruin of Kashmir to the atrocious rule of Aurangzeb. This would be going too far in making simplified assertions.[4] The evidence contained in the accounts of St. Xavier, Francisco Palsaert, Bernier, Desideri, Father Fryre and lastly George Forster on the one hand, and Abul Faz'l, Jahangir, Abdul Hamid Lahori, Malik Haidar, Narain Koul Ajiz and Mohammad 'Azam on the other leads us to the conclusion that though the Mughal occupation had hampered the growth of the Kashmiris to their full stature yet the socio-economic order ushered in by the Mughal conquest in 1586 led to the attainment of many tangible results in the overall developments in the fields of administrative, social, economic and cultural institutions.

---

4. J.N. Sarkar, Short History of Aurangzeb, 1618-1707, pp. 410-14.

*

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Contemporary Historical Works

A (General) Persian (including English Translation of Certain Works

1.	Mirza Haidar Dughlat	Tārikh-i-Rashīdī, tr. N.Elias and Denison Ross, oriental club, 1885. Reprint Patna, 1973.
2.	Abul Fazl	Akbarnama, 3 Vols. Ed. Maulvi Abdul Rahim, Asiatic society of Bengal, 1879 English tr. A.S. Beveridge.
3.	Muhammad Qasim Firishta	Tārikh-i Firishta.
4.	Nizamuddin Bakhshi	Tabqāt-i-Akbarī, Ed. B. Dey Hidayat Husain, Bib. India, 1927.
5.	Abdul Qādir, Badaūni	Muntakhabu-t-Tawārikh, 3 Vols., A.S.B; 1868, 1869.
6.	Jahangir	Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri, Ed. Sayyid Ahmad, Gazipur 1863, Aligarh, 1864.
7.	Mutamead Khān,	Iqbālnama Jahāngiri, Ed. 1879; IIIrd Vol, Bib. India, 1865.
8.	Kamgār Husain	Ma'āsiri-Jahāngiri, Br M. 21. B.C. 1-219.
9.	Abul Hasan	Jahāngirnāma, Nawal Kishore Press, 1895.
10.	Mulla Abdul Baqi Nahavandi	Ma'āsiri Rahimi, Ed. Hidayat Husain, ASB, 1924 31st Volume; 1925.
11.	Faizi Sarhindi	Akbarnāmā, Br M, VI. P 253 or 169 4279.
12.	Muhammad Sharif, Al-Najfi	Majālisu-Salātin; Br. M. Rieu, III, 906b.
13.	Amin Qazwini	ShahJahān-nama, Rieu, I; 258b; transcript from MS of Raza Library, Rampur, in Research Library, Deptt. of History Aligarh. (Nos. 19-21).
13.	Abdul Hamid Lahori	Badshahnama, 2 Vols, Bib. India Ed. Maulwis Kabir ud-Din and Abdul Rahim, 1868.

15. Muḥammad Wāriṡ	Badshahnama, III, Transcript of Raza Library, Rampur MS in Research Library, Department of History, Aligarh.
16. Muhammad Sādiq, Kambu	Amali-Sālih, 3 Vol, Lahore, 1958.
17. Asad Beg, Qazvini	Memoirs; Br M. P 37327 or 1996.
18. ʿĀqil Khān, Rāzi	Waqiat-i Alamgiri; Delhi, 1945.
19. Muhammad Sādiq Khān	Tabqati-Shahjahani, HS 121. Department of History, Aligarh, Muslim University, Aligarh.
20. -do-	Tarikh-i Shahjahani, or MS 11589 or MS 114.
21. -do-	Tārikh-i Shahjahani-wa-Alamgiri, Rieu, 269 Br M Add 23884.
22. Sāqi Mustaid Khān	Maāsiri-Alamgiri, Tr. J.N. Sarkar, RAS Bengal, Calcutta; 1947.
23. Muhammad Kāzim	Alamgirnama, Ed. Khadim Husain and Abdul Hai, Bib. India; Calcutta, 1865-73.
24. Mehta, Ishar Das Nāgar	Futuhati-Alamgiri; Rieu 269 Br. M. Add 23884.
24a Sajan Rai, Bhandari	Khulasat-u-Tawārikh, G & Sons, Ltd., 1918.
25. Muhammad Hashim, Khāfi Khān	Muntakhabu- Lubāb, Ed. Maulavi Kabiruddin, Ahmad, Bib. India 1860-4.
26. Ahmad Quli, Safvi	Tarikh-i Alamgiri, 954/9 Subhanullah Collection, M.A. Library, Aligarh.
27. Ali Muhammad Khān	Mirāt-i Ahmadi, Calcutta, 1928. It contains the Firmans of Aurangzib to Hāshim Khān & Rasikdas in addition to the adminis-trative information of varried nature.

28. Kewal Rami; — Tazkiratul-Umara, MS 32/57 Farsiyah, Habib Gunj, Collection, Maulana Azad Libr ary, Aligarh; Add 16, 703/339.

29. ANONYMOUS Generally believed to be the work of Mohsin Fani — Dabistāni Mazāhib (1653-56) Nazr Ashraf, Tr. Shia and Troyer, London 1843. It is unsatisfactory.

30. Shah Nawāz Khān — Maasirul Umara; 3 Vol. Ed. Kabirud Din, ASB. Calcutta, 1868.

31. Anonymous — A Contemporary Dutch Chronicle of Mughal India, Tr. Brij Narian & S.R. Sharma; Calcutta, 1957.

32. Augusta Frederick; — The Emperor Akbar; 2 Vols. Trand Ed. from German to English A.S. Beveridge, Neustreletz, July, 1885.

33. Elliot and Dowson — History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol 4,6-8.

34. Anonymous — Baharistāni-Shahi; 1614 A.D. I.O.E 509 (1.0.9 43. also RPD MSS 159; Srinagar.)

B Contemporary Sources of Kashmir

35. Malik Haider, Chadoura; — Tārikh-i Kashmīr, 1622 A.D. I.O. E 510, also R.P.D. MS, Srinagar.

36. Narain Kaul, Ajuz; — Mukhtasar-Tawārikhi Kashmiri 1709 A.D. (MS 18 Transcribed 1255) Research Library, Department of History, A.M.U., Aligarh.

37. Hasan Bin Muhammad al-Khāki; — Ahsanu-T- Tawārikh Br M, Rieu III, 986b. The author claims to have take part in the Kashmir conquest 1586. Rotograph, in Research Library Srinagar.

38. Aba Rafiuddin Ahmad — Nawādirul-Akhbār; Br. M. 27376 Add 24, 0209. Rotograph, Research Library, Srinagar.

39. Muhammad Aslam Munāmi — Gouhari Ālam; 1150H, Rieu III, 1977. Rotograph, Research Library Srinagar.

40. Muhammad Azam — Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir, Ed. Maulavi Muhammad Shah, Kohinoor Press, Srinagar.

41. -do- — Lubu-Tawarikh, I.O. 3525. Rotograph in Research Library, Srinagar.

42. Ameeruddin Pakhliwāl, — Tahqiqāt-i Ameeri, MS Bhandarkar Oriental Institute; Poona, 4.

43. Saadullāh Shahabadi, — Bāgi Suliaman a history in verses from earliest times to Afghan rule Research Library, Srinagar.

44. Khalīl Mirjānpūri — Tarikh-i Kashmir, Research Library Srinagar.

45. Diwan Kiparām — Gulzari Kashmir; Kohinoor, Press, Lahori; 1870.

46. Abdul Qadir Khān; — Hashmati Kashmir, MS 1250 A.H. 528/49 Abdusssalam Collection Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh.

47. Birbal Kachroo — Majmut-Tawarikh, MS Abdus Salam Collection, Aligarh. 1835 A.D.

48. Hasan Shah — Tarikh-i Kashmir, MS Research Libaary Srinagar, IInd Volume.

49. Raja Tarangni, — Tr. J.C. Dutt, Kings of Kashmir Vol. 3, Calcutta, 1898.

Miscellaneous

50. Amīn Ahmad, Rāzi, — Haft Iqlim, A.H. 1010 udbigah Iran.

51. Nuskha Dar Fani Falahat; — * A manual an the art of Histiculture I.O.L. P MS eth 2791 (I.O. 479).

52. Bilgrami, Murtaza Husain alias Allah yār Usmani, — Hadiqatul-Aqālim, (C 1140-1187 A.H.) Research Library Deptt. of History Aligarh. MS 78.

53.

(C) ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY

General works:-

53. Abul Fazl — Ain-i Akbari, Ed. Blochmann. Bib.

54.	India. 1867-77; Nowal Kishore ed 1882 is a gerbetam copy of Blochmanns Ed. I have mainly used this ed. I have corelated the above editions with Br. M. MS; OPB. Add. 7652/251 V.I (Microfilm available in the History Deptt. of Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh) I have also consulted the Jarrets' translation, revised by Jadunath Sarkar Vol. II, Calcutta; 1949. and Blochmanns' translation of Ist Volume, A.S.B. Calcutta, 1927. It gives us a detailed description of the mansabdars of Akbar, while Jarrets' translation is helpful in Topographical information. The Francis Glawdins translation; Calcutta, 1783 is defective in many respects.
54. Rai Chandrabhan Brahman	Char Chamani Brahman, 289/59 Abdus-Salam Collection, Aligarh.
55. Nāth Pandith	Gulshani-Dastūr, MS. 2314 Research Library, Srinagar.
56. Hasan Shah	Tarikh-i Hasan; I Volume; MS 4 Deptt. of History A.M.U., Aligarh
57.	

(d) ADMINISTRATIVE AND ACCOUNTANCY MANUALS.

57. Haji Khairullha	Dastur-i Jahan Kusha, MS 1060/1650 328/98 Abdussalam collection, Azad Library, Aligarh.
58.	Dasturul Amali Ilmi Navisandagi, c 1656 Br M Add. 6641.
59.	Dasturul Amali Alamgiri, c 1659, Br MS P. 30621 Add. 6599; Rieu 404. Rotograph available in the Research Library, Deptt. of History A.M.U., Aligarh.

60. Rai Chatar Mal; *Diwan Pasand, Br. MS Rieu, III; 990 or 2011; P 30621.

61. *Zawabita Alamgiri, (1687-91) Add. 6598.

62. *Halati Mamalik-i Mahroosa, (Aurangzebs' reign) Reiu, 1, 404. Add. 6584.

63. *Dastūrul Amal, Bod. Lib. Frazer MS 86.

64. Dastūrul ʿAmali Shahjahāni; (late Aurangzebs' reign) MS, 671-675/49-53, Suliaman Collection, Maulana Azad, Library, Aligarh.

65. *Durral Ulum; A.D. 1688-97 Bod. Walked, 104.

66. Jagat Rai Shujai Kayath, Saksena

Farhangi Kardani A.D. 1679, MS315/85 Farsiyah, Abdus Salam collection, Maulana Azad Library Aligarh.

67. Khulasatu-Siyāq; A.D. 1697-8, MS 900/15, Subhanullah Collection, Maulana azad Library, Aligarh.

68. Khalāqus Siyāq; A.D. 1703. MS 49 National Archives, New Delhi.

69. Dastūrul Amal; A.D. 1724; MS Jammue Archives.

70. Ram Lal *Tuhfatul Hind; 1192 A.H. Add. 6584.

71. Rai Chatar Man Kayath; Char Gulshan, A.D. 1759. Tr. J.N. Sarkar, in Aurangzebs India.

72.

(E). ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS

72. Shah Jahans' Farman conferring madadi maash grant Musmati Kooch

Bano, dated 1055 A.H. S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar.

73. Jahan Ara Begam, Nishan conferring madadi maash grant to Sheikh Qasim Nephew of Sheikh Hamza, 19th R.Y. of Shah Jahans' reign. Research Library, Srinagar.

74. Madadi Maash Farman by Aurangzeb to Sheikh Qasim. A.H. 1073; Research Library, Srinagar.

75. Madadi maash Farmān. dated 1096 A.H. in favour of the Sheikh Qasim and others, Research Library, Srinagar.

76. A document dated 1082 A.H. related to the division of the income of the Shrine of Sheikh Hamza Makhdoomi, Research Library, Srinagar.

77. Appointment of Faqir Ahsanullah A.H. 1074. to investigate the claims of the against of some Jagirdar against Aima land given to Sheikh Qāsim, Research Library, Srinagar.

78. A Samad for a daily allowance of Hāfiz Yoosf dated A.H. 1084. Research Library, Srinagar.

79. A representation Submitted to Emperor Aurangzeb to the release of madadi maash to the descendants of Sheikh Qasim, confiscated by Nowab Saif Khan the Subedār, dated A.H. 33. R.Y., Research Library, Srinagar

80. A receipt of obtained from ryots of a village dated A.H. 1118. for the misappropriated cesses returned to them by Attaullah Jagirdar, Research Library, Srinagar.

81. A Samad dated 31st R.Y. (Farukh Siyar) conferring a daily allowance infavour of Musmati Aqila, Research Library, Srinagar.

82. *Aurangzebs' Farman to Rasikdas Karori*, 8th R.Y. Text Published in *JASB.* N.S., II, (1906) by Jadunath Sarkar, (1906) PP. 223-55.

83. *Aurangzebs' Farman to Muhammad Hashim* A.D. 1668, 69, JASB N.S. II (1906) also in Mir'at-i Ahmadi.

84. Malikzada *Nigār nāmā Munshī*, Br. Ms. Add. 1684 A collection of administrative documents letters etc. etc.

85. *Akhbarat-i-Darbari Mualla*, daily News letters from the court of Aurangzeb, 9 Volumes microfilm available in the Research Library Deptt. of History, AMU., Aligarh, referred to *Akhbarat*.

86. *Parvana of Sadru-Sadūr*, dated A.H. 1124. in connection with the inheritence of the descendents of *Sheikh Hamza*., Research Library, Srinagar.

87. *Taahudnāmā of Kirat Singh of* Kashtawār, dated A.H., 1075, published in *Tarikh-i Jammu etc. of Hashmatullah Khan*.

88. Farman of Shahjahan preserved in Tārikh-i Ḥasan, Vol. I; regarding an *Altuni-Tamga* grant in favour of Asaf Khan.

89. *Tashih of land grant* dated 5 R.Y. Shah Alam infavour of *Jana Bibi*. Research Library, Srinagar.

90. *Farmān of Muhammad Shah*, 24 R.Y. *maadadi maash* grant infavour of Sheikh Abdullah Research Library, Srinagar.

91. *Dastak of Sadr-u-Sadar*, dated A.H. 1143. for the release of *madadi maassh grant*; Research Library, Srinagar.

92. A madadi maash grant document dated A.H. 1135 infavour of Hafiz Khazr, Research Library, Srinagar.

(F). COMPOSITIONS AND EPISTOLARY COLLECTIONS

93. Abul Fazl — Har Seh Daftari Abul Fazl, Lucknow. Date ?

94. Munshi Har Karan — MS Inshai-Har Karan 406/139, Subhanullah collection, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh, Research Library, Srinagar MS has contains more letters.

95. Madhoa Ram — MS Inshāi-Madho Ram, 372/105 University Collection, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh.

96. Inshāi Ālamgiri; MS 334/67, Suliaman Collection, Maulana Azad Libeary, Aligarh.

97. Raqaim-u-Karāim; Letters of Aurangzeb Ed. by Sayyid Ashraf Khan in A.H. 1200 MS 312/145 Suliaman collection Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh.

98. Ādābi Ālāmgiri; MS 20 Research Library Department of History, Aligarh

99. Makatibi-Ināyat Khān; 322/102, Abdus Salam Collection, Maulana Azad Library Aligarh.

100. Kalimatu-Taibāt; Ed. Inayatullah Khan MS, 322/92 Abdus-Salam collection Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh.

101. Inshā, MS 891.5528, 371/4, Suliaman collection, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh. It contains various letters of Aurangzeb addressed to his sons, nobles, and principal officials.

102. Abdus Samad, MS A collection of letters of (Aurangzebs' period) 2776, Research Library, Srinagar.

103. Letter collection, 2675 MS Research Library, Srinagar.

104. Inshāi Faiz Bakhash; 2193, MS Research Library, Srinagar. Ed. in 19th Century, but most of the letters belong to the Aurangzebs' period.

105. Letter collection. 1302, MS, Research Library, Srinagar.

106. Fanāi, *Gulshani-Balāghat, I.O. Eth. 288 (10.1895). (Rotograph in the Research Library, Department of History, Aligarh.

107. A letter collection MS, in S.P.S. Museum, C 1132 Srinagar, The letters are sent from official to official during the reign of Aurangzeb and his immidiate successor.

108.

(G). TAZKIRAS MYSTIC LITERATURE AND BEOGRAPHICAL WORKS

108. Jahān Ārā Begam — Risālah Dar Ahwāli Maulāna Shāh Rahmatullah, Transcript copy of the biography of Mulla Shah Badakhshi available in the Research Library Deptt. of History, Aligarh. (No.6).

109. Dārā Shukoh, (i) Sakīnatul-Awaliā, Tehran, 1965.

110. (ii) Safinatul-Awaliā, Karachi educational Press, 1969.

*Tawakul Beg Kulabi — Nuskha-i Ahwāli Shāhi, A.H. 1077, Br. M P 39453, or 3203. It is a trearize on the activities and engagements of Mullah Shah Badakhshi in Kashmir. The author was a disciple of the Mullah.

111. Dāud Mishkwāti — Asrārul-Abrār, No. 1177, Research Library, Srinagar.

112. Mulla Ahmad Bin Abdus-Sabūr — Khwariqus Salikin A.H. 1109, MS, No. 230, Research Library, Srinagar.

113. Mufti Muhammad Murād, Tawg; Tuhfatul-Fuqara, MS, Research Library, Srinagar.

114. Ẕafar Kh̲ān, Aḥsan, Haft Manzil, It is a mathnavi in seven parts in praise of fruits gardens and streams of Kashmir. The MS is available in Research Library, Srinagar.

115. Maulānā Gulām Muḥammad, Tazkira Khush Navisan; ASB 1910.

116. Abdul Wahāb Nūrī Futḥāti-Kubravia I, 1186 H. MS No.50 Research Library, Srinagar.

117. Mulla Ali Raina, Tazkira Mullā Ali Rainā, MS No. 47 Research Library, Srinagar.

118. Hasan Shah, Tarikhi Kashmir; Vol. 3 and 4. MS Research Library, Srinagar.

119.

(H). TRAVELLERS' ACCOUNT

119. Fr.J. Xavier Leters, 1593-1617. tr. Hosten, JASB Ns. XXIII, 1927, PP109-30.

120. Francisco Pelsaert Ramonstrantie, tr. W.H. Morland & P Geyl, Jahangirs' India, Cambridge, 1925.

121. Foaster Early Travels in India, Oxford University Press, England, 1921.

122. Payne, M.A. Jahangir and the Jesuits Ed. Denison Ross, London, 1930.

123. Francois Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, (1656-1668) Tr. constable, London, 1891.

124. Ippolito Desideii; (1717-1727) An account of his travels, tr. Fillipo- De- Filipi, George Routlege and sons ltd., London, 1937.

125. Niccoloe Munucci Storia do Mogor, (1653-1708), 3 Vol, Calcutta, 1907.

126. George Forster Journey from Bengal to England through the Northern Part of Kashmir, 2 Vols, London, 1808.

127. Ahamad Shah, Naqash bandi, Route from Kashmir via Ladakh to Yarkand, Tr. M.J. Dowson Ross, JRA of great Britain and Ireland, Vol. XII, part II, London, 1850.

128. William Moor Craft and George Trabeek, Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Ladakh and Kashmir; (1819-1825), 2 Vol, Sagar publication, New Delhi.

129. William Moor Craft, Report Regarding Russian Trade with North and North West territories of British India MS Date ? National Archives, Misc 125, New Delhi.

130. G.T. Vigne Personal Narrative of a visit to Ghuzni Kabul and Afghanistan, Ist Volume, 1840.

131. - do - Travels in Kashmir Ladakh and Iskardu, II Volume, London, 1842.

132. Hughal B.C. Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab London, 1845.

(I). MODERN WORKS

133. Athar Ali Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, Bombay, 1966.

134. Arfani, Abdul Hamid Tazkira-Shuarai Parsizuban Kashmir, Tehran, 1355.

135. Bamzai, PNK A History of Kashmir, 2nd. Ed. New Delhi, 1973.

136. Beni Prasad History of Jahangir, IIIrd Ed. Allahabad, 1940.

137. Binyon, Laurence Akbar, Thomas Nelson and sons Ltd. London, 1932.

138. Bruce, C.G. Kashmir, London, 1915.

139. Checherove- A.I. India - Economic Development 16th-18th century, Moscow, 1971.

140. Clark, C.S. Indian Drawings - A collection of four pannels of four pannels of Calligraphy, wantage Bequest, London, 1922.

141. Chopra, P.N. — Some Aspects of Social life during the Mughal Age; (1526-1707) Agra, 1963.

142. Cunningham. A. — Ladakh Political Physical and Statistical IInd New Delhi, 1970.

143. Crow, Salivia, etc. — The gardens of Mughal India, first Published in Delhi, 1973.

144. David Ross — The Land of 5 Rivers, London, 1883.

145. Drew. Fedrie, (i) — Jammu and Kashmir Territories, 1875.

146. (ii) — Northern Barriers of India, Reprint, Jammu, 1971.

147.

148. Elephinstone, M — An account of Kingdom of Kabul and its Dependencies, 2 Vol, London, 1839.

149. Francke, A.H. (i) — Antiquities of Indian Tibet, Part II, Ed. Thomas, F.W., Calcutta, 1927.

(ii) — History of Western Tibetan Region, London, 1907.

150. Furquson, P.J. — Kashmir - An Historical Introduction, 1961.

151. Filipo De Felippi — Himalaya, Karakoram and Eastern Turkistan, (1913-14), Eng.tr. Low, H.T., London, 1932.

152. Gupta, N.S. — Industrial Structure of India During Medieval Period, Delhi, 1970.

153. Glawdin — History of Jhangir, ed. Rao Bahadur, Hadras, 1930.

154. Horigberger John Martin — Thirty Five Years in the East, Calcutta, 1905.

155. Hajini, Mohi-ud-Din — Kashir-Shaire, Sahitya Academy, Delhi, 1960.

156. Haigue, T.W. — Cambridge History of India, Vol. 3&4.

157. Hashmatullah Khan — Tarikh-i-Jammu-wa-Kashmir-wa-Riyasathai Maftuha'a, Lakhnow, 1939.

158. Hutichson, & Vogel — History of the Punjab Hill States, 2 Vols. Lahore, 1933.

159. Ibni Hasan — The Central Structure of Mughal Empire and its practical Working, up to 1657, New Delhi, 1957.

160. Irfan Habib — The Agrarian System of Mughal India, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1963.

161. James Fergusson — History of Indian and Eastern Art, Vol.2, London, 1876.

162. Karl Khandalavala — New Documents of Indian Painting, Bombay, 1969.

163. Knight E.F. — Where Three Empire Meet, London, 1895. Indian Ed. 1905.

164. Koul, Pandith Anand — Archaeological Remains in Kashmir, Lahore 1935.

165. Laurance, Sir Walter — The Valley of Kashmir, Oxford University Press, London, 1895, Reprint 1970, New Delhi.

166. Munshi Muhammad Din Fouq, — Safarnāmā Kashmir, Lahore, 1918.

167. Mohibbul Hasan — Kashmir Under the Sultans, Calcutta, 1959.

168. Maria Dhoti — Valleys of Kashmir, Reprint, Delhi, 1970.

169. Maclagan, Sir Edward — Jesuits and the Great Mughals, London, 1932.

170. Misra, B.B. — The Administrative History of India, (1834-1947), Oxford University Press, London, 1970.

171. Moreland, W.H. — India at the Death of Akbar, An Economic Study, London, 1920.

172. — Agrarian System of Moslem India, Allahaba July, 1929.

173 — From Akbar to Aurangzeb, A Study in Indi Economic History, Indian Ed., 1972.

174. Naqvi, Hamida Khatoon — Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India (1556-1803), Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1968.

175. — Urbanization and Urban Centres Under the Great Mughals, (1556-1707), Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, 1972.

176. Nizami, K.A. — Some Aspects of Religion And Politics During the 13th Century, Delhi, IInd ed. 1974.

177. Parmu, Dr. R.K. — A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, Delhi, 1969.

178. Peteck, L. — China And Tibet in Early 18th Century, Leiden, 1950.

179. Percy Brown, — Indian Painting Under the Mughals, Oxford, 1924.

180. — Indian Architecture (Islamic Period), London, 1942.

181. P. Saran — Provincial Administration of the Mughals 1941.

182. Qurashi, I.H. — Administration & Government of the Mugha Empire, Patna

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

183. Rizvi, A.A. — Revivalist Movements in Northern India During 17th Century, Agra, 1965.

184. — Religious and Intellectual History of th Muslims in Akbar's Reign, New Delhi,197

185. Robest Orme — Historical Fragments of Mughal Empire, London, 1805.

186. Sarkar, Jadu Nath,Sir — Mughal Administration, Calcutta, 1935.

187. — History of Aurangzeb, V Volumes

188. — A Shorter History of Aurangzeb, (1618-1707), Calcutta, 1954.

189. Saksena, B.P. — History of Shahjahan of Delhi

190. Sharma, R. S. — Mughal Government & Administration, Bombay, 1951.

191. Smith, V.A. — Akbar - The Great Mogul, 1917.

192. Siddiqi, N.A. — Land Revenue System of Mughal India, (1700-1750), Bombay, 1970.

193. Stuart Villier. C.M. — Gardens of the Great Mughals, London,1

194. Sufi, G.M.D. — Kashir, 2 Vol, Lahore, 1948.

195. Tripathi, R.P. — Some Aspects of Muslim Administration Allahabad, 1956.

196. Watt, Sir. George — The Commercial Products of India, 5 V Delhi, 1908.

197. Waddell, A.L. — Lhasa & Its Mysteries, London, 1906.

198. Walf. H. Hans, — The Traditional Crafts of Persia, M.I.T. Cambridge, 1966.

199. Yasin Mohammad — Social History of Islamic India, (1605-1748), Lucknow, 1958.

J. Periodical Literature (Papers, Articles in Journals, etc.)

200. Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Island, Vol. 19, 1844, & Vol. 23, 1850.

201. Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol. 2, No. 1., January, 1965. B.R.Grover, 'Nature of Dehati-Ta'aluqa', etc.pp.259-288. Vol. 1. No. 1., July-September, 1963, 'Nature of Land-Rights in Mughal India', B.R. Grover, pp. 1-24.

Vol. 1., No.3, 1964. N.A. Siddiqi, 'The classification of villages under the Mughals', pp.73-83.

Vol.II, 4, October, 1965. N.A. Siddiqi, 'Land Revenue Demand Under the Mughals', pp. 373-380.

202. Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol. 37, 1962. Article of B.R. Grover, "Diwani Sarkar" Vol. 37, Part II, 1962, pp. 65-71.

203. Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. 14, No 1938. Article of S.R. Sharma, Vol. 23, 1947. Article of L. Peteck, Tibetan - Ladakhi Moghul War 1681-83, pp. 169-200.

204. Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol.23, No.5, 1854, Lieut. D.J.F. Newali, A Sketch of Mohammadan History of Kashmir, pp.409-460., Vol. 53, 1884. R.C. Temple, An Examination of Trade dialect, pp.7-23.

205. Asiatic Society of Bengal, (Bombay Bran J.J. Modi, V, 1918. Two Inscriptions i the Mughal Garden of Vernag.

206. Journal of Pakistan Historical Society Vol. 7, 1959, 'Abdul Rahim, Kashtawar Expedition'

207. Medieval India-A Miscellany, Aligarh, Vol. I, Dr M. Zameeruddin Siddiqi, 'Th Institution of the Qazi Under the Mugh pp. 1-20; Vol. II, Dr M. Zameeruddin Siddiqi, 'Intelligence Service Under t Mughals', Vol I, 'provincial Governors Under Aurangzeb', pp. 96-33. Vol. III, Dr. M. Athar Ali, 'Governors Shahjahan'. Hamida Khatun, Naqvi, 'Incidents of rebellions During the r of Akbar, Vol.II, pp.152-165.

208. *Journal of Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol.,6. No. 1., October, 1963. Irfan Habib,'Usuary in Medieval India' Articles by the same author, cyclostyled copies in the Research Library, Department of History, AMU., Aligarh.

'Government and Economic Life'

'Potentialities of Capitalistic Development in the Economy of Mughal India'.

209.S.N. Hasan 'Position of zamindars in the Mughal Empire' article published in *Land Control and Social Structure in India*, ed. Robert Eric Frykenberg, pp. 17-31, 1969.

210. *Hunar-wa-Murdum*, Nos.112-13, Isfandiyar 1350, article of Sabir Afaqi "Sufiyāni Kashmir", pp. 66-87.

211. *Medieval India-Quarterly*, Vol.4.1961. Article of N.A. Siddiqi, pp. 25-45.

212. *Proceedings of 26th International Congress of Orientalists*, Article of K.A. Nizami, 'Naqashbandi Influence on Mughal Rulers and Politics', pp. 315-25, Delhi, January, 1964.

213. *The Marg*, Vol. 6, Jhon Irwin,'Kashmiri Shawls', pp. 40-52.

214. *Census Reports*, 1891, 1901, 1911, and 1921.

215. *Factory Records*, Vols. I (1618-21), III, 6, (1637-41)

216. *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*,Jabalpur 1970,Afzal Husain,'Provincial Governors Under Akbar'

K. Glossaries Dictionaries,etc.

217. Khāwaja Yasin *Glossory of Revenue and Administrative terms* Rotograph in the Research Library, Department of History, AMU., Aligarh.

218. Steingass *Persian English Dictionary*.

219. Wilson, H.H. *A Glossory of Judicial and Revenue Terms, etc. of British India*, London, 1875.

220. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. 6.

221. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, Reprint, 1974, New Delhi.

222. Donie, Sir.James *The Punjab N.W.F.P. and Kashmir*, Ist Indian Ed. 1974.

223. Watson, H.D. *Gazetteer of the Hazara District*, London, 1907.

224. James Rennell *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan of the Mogul Empire*, London, 1791.

(*) Rotograph copies and MS and 1.O MS are available in the Research Library, Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.

*